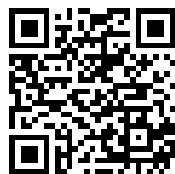

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PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

A Journal Devoted to Scholarly Investigation in the
Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures

VOLUME I

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Editor

HARDIN CRAIG

Associate Editors

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON, Germanic Languages and Literatures

BERTHOLD L. ULLMAN, Classical Languages and Literatures

THOMAS A. KNOTT, English and Comparative Literature

CHARLES E. YOUNG, Romance Languages and Literatures

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Chaucer's Anonymous Merchant - - -	Thomas A. Knott	1
The Vatican Manuscript of Cæsar, Pliny, and Sallust and the Library of Corbie - - -	Berthold L. Ullman	17
Between the <i>Shepheards Calender</i> and <i>The Seasons</i> - - - - -	Elbert N. S. Thompson	23
Von Treitschke's Treatment of <i>Turner</i> and <i>Burschenschafter</i> in his <i>Deutsche</i> <i>Geschichte</i> - - - - -	Starr Willard Cutting	31
A Dialogue—Possibly by Henry Fielding Helen Sard Hughes		49
La Fontaine's Imitation - - - - -	Colbert Searles	56
A Note on Hamlet - - - - -	John S. Kenyon	71
Problems in Renaissance Scholarship - - -	Hardin Craig	81
Latin Classical MSS in America - - -	Seymour de Ricci	100
Latin MSS in America - - - - -	B. L. Ullman	109
Bodmer as a Literary Borrower - - - -	C. H. Ibershoff	110
Spanish Usages and Customs in Lope de Vega -	F. O. Reed	117
Wudga in the Theodoric Legends - - -	Henning Larsen	128
A Prologue for Voltaire's <i>Artémire</i> Gustave L. van Roosbroeck		137
St. Ambrose and Cicero - - - - -	Roy J. Deferrari	142
"Mummy" in Shakespeare - - - - -	A. H. R. Fairchild	143
Non-Latin Influence on Italian Tonic Vowels Herbert H. Vaughan		147
Old Northern French Loan-Words in Middle English Stephen H. Bush		161
Notes on the Tragedy of Nero - - -	Wilfred P. Mustard	173
Formal Dialogue in Narrative - - -	Bartholow V. Crawford	179
Dante in 19th Century America - - - -	Emilio Goggio	192
Pioneer Iowa Word-List - - - - -	Frank Luther Mott	202
Chaucer's "Shapen Was My Sherte" -	Laura A. Hibbard	222
Shakespeare's "Living Art" - - - - -	J. S. Reid	226

Marriage in the French Drama - - - -	Charles E. Young	241
A <i>Vade Mecum</i> of Liberal Culture in a MS of Fleury	E. K. Rand	258
Fielding and the Cibbers - - - - -	Charles W. Nichols	278
Glover's Influence on Klopstock - - - -	Fletcher Briggs	290
Bandello, Parte I, Novella 14 - - -	Alexander H. Krappe	301
Additional Pioneer Iowa Word List - - -	Frank L. Mott	304
Roman Coins in Ancient Germany - - - -	B. L. Ullman	311

BOOK REVIEWS

- FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD, *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (H. C.).—TENNEY FRANK, *An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic* (J. S. Magnuson).—JOSEPH REINACH (POLYBE), *Franco: Histoire Illustrée de la France* (Gustave Lanson).—LOUISE POUND, *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (E. F. Piper).—JOHN M. BERDAN, *Early Tudor Poetry, 1485-1547* (H. C.) - - - - - 74
- EMIL ERMATINGER, *Die deutsche Lyrik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von Herder bis zur Gegenwart* (C. B. W.).—O. E. LESSING, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in ihren Grundzügen* (C. B. W.).—FRANK L. SCHOELL, *Charlemagne (The Distracted Emperor)* (E. N. S. Thompson).—T. MACIRONE, *Practical French Phonetics* (C. E. Y.).—HAROLD H. BENDER, *A Lithuanian Etymological Index* (Franklin H. Potter) - - - - - 154
- LEVIN L. SCHUECKING, *Die Charakter-probleme bei Shakespeare: Eine Einführung in das Verständnis des Dramatikers* (KARL YOUNG).—ADOLF LOERCHER, *Wie, Wo, Wann, ist die Ilias entstanden?* (JOHN A. SCOTT).—HERMANN FRAENKEL, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (JOHN A. SCOTT). EMIL ERMATINGER, *Das dichterische Kunstwerk: Grundbegriffe der Urteilsbildung in der Literatur-geschichte* (C. B. W.).—L. LAURAND, *Manuel des études grecques et latines* (B. L. U.).—RUDOLF VON DELIUS, *Paul Flemings Leben in seinen Gedichten* (C. B. W.).—A. KLOTZ, *C. Iulii Cæsaris Commentarii Belli Gallici* (B. L. U.) - - - - - 228
- LEON KELLNER, *Die englische Literatur der neuesten Zeit von Dickens bis Shaw* (M. A. Shaw) - - - - - 318

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CONTENTS

Chaucer's Anonymous Merchant - - -	Thomas A. Knott	1
The Vatican Manuscript of Cæsar, Pliny, and Sallust and the Library of Corbie - - -	Berthold L. Ullman	17
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A Dialogue—Possibly by Henry Fielding <i>Helen Sard Hughes</i>		49
La Fontaine's Imitation - - - - -	Colbert Searles	56
A Note on Hamlet - - - - -	John S. Kenyon	71
Book Reviews - - - - -		74

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CHAUCER'S ANONYMOUS MERCHANT

By THOMAS A. KNOTT

University of Iowa

If humdrum business and gunpowder and the prosy lapse of centuries have dulled the rich and brilliant colors of Chaucer's knight, as Professor Manly showed a few years ago,¹ no less have the revolutionary changes of five hundred years fretted away the web of associations which the poet's pregnant allusiveness stirred in the minds of his friends as he limned his other pilgrims. It is not my pleasant fortune, however, to reveal high adventure and mysterious romance and splintered lances on stricken fields. I shall, on the contrary, merely uncover the career of one whose secret history, when unveiled, discloses a labyrinth of devious practise and scandalous high finance.

The passage of time has probably dimmed the sharpness of line and the depth of color of few other pilgrims so completely as it has those of the Merchant, who was, as we shall discover, a much more imposing personage in the eyes of his creator than in those of the modern commentators. As he rode, high on horse, into the scuttling inn-yard of the Tabard, as he mounted to his wide chamber, and again as the officious Harry Bailly, with the assurance of a marshal in a hall, ushered him to his place near the head of the board, we may be certain that the Merchant's anonymity did not prevent the folk of lesser degree from making way for such a solemn and imposing personage.

The status of the Merchant in the social structure of his day can be understood only if we explore adequately the fruitful fields of documents which lie behind Hales' note on Middelburgh.² In

¹ Manly, "A Knight Ther Was," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXXVIII (1907), pp. 89-107.

² *Folia Literaria*, p. 100; *Athenaeum*, April 8, 1893, p. 443.

this note, it will be remembered, Hales pointed out that Middelburgh was the continental staple for wool from 1384 to 1388, and that the Prologue was therefore probably composed between those two dates. The real importance of the allusion, however, is not in the implication of a date, but in the revelation of the Merchant's position in the national economy. For the significance of the reference to the wool-staple is contained rather in the first part than in the second part of the word.

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century England was the world's almost exclusive source of supply of the finest raw wool, and during these three hundred years wool, wool-fells, and hides constituted the principal, or *staple*,³ articles of export from England. It was estimated about 1340 that the annual production of wool amounted to 40,000 sacks of 364 pounds each, of which the exportable surplus was 30,000 sacks.⁴ Wool, hides, and wool-fells were exported in great quantities to the Baltic ports, to Spain, France, Italy, Brabant, Holland, and Zeeland, but principally to the cloth-manufacturing cities of Flanders, in one of which the Merchant had bought his beaver hat.

As early as 1215 an export tax had been laid on wool. This, known as the *Antiqua Custuma*, had become definitely settled by 1275 as a half mark (6s. 8d.) per sack.⁵ In order to expedite the collection of this tax, nine English cities were designated in 1297 as the ports from which all wool must be exported.⁶ To these the wool, purchased by the merchants at fairs or markets or on manors, was carried in carts. In the home staple towns the wool or other merchandise, after being weighed or counted, was sealed with the cocket seal by the collectors of the custom, and the tax was paid. After 1313 the shipment usually had to be conveyed to a compulsory staple city beyond the sea, where, after it had again been weighed, and after the "letters of cocket" had been inspected as

³ The staple articles also comprised lead, tin, butter, cheese, tallow, honey, feathers, and cloth. See *Rolls of Parliament*, 3, 278; Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, p. 140, note 2; Rymer's *Foedera*, V, vii, 116, 118.

⁴ Barnes, "The Taxation of Wool, 1327-1348," in Unwin, *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, p. 145, and p. 146, note 3. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (5th ed., 1910), p. 314, and note 2, and p. 439.

⁵ Hall, *A History of the Custom-Revenue in England*, I, p. 66; Lipson, *Economic History of England*, I, p. 522.

⁶ Lipson, I, p. 472.

a check on the home officials, a certificate was sent to the exchequer, affirming that the cargo had been landed in conformity with the law. The merchandise was then placed on sale in the market maintained for that purpose. These transactions are illustrated by the following documents:

February 18, 1355, a protection and safe-conduct was granted to Maunfredinus de Sancto Sixto, merchant of Genoa, in taking 110 pockets of wool from London to the staple at Winchester in ten carts, to be transported thence to foreign parts, and for the carts, carters, and wool.⁷

The following letter patent was issued September 12, 1359: "Whereas the king, with the assent of his council, has ordained that his letters of cocket of wools, hides, and wool-fells exported, between collectors of customs and the masters of the ships wherein the wools are laden, shall be made indented, one part sealed with the cocket seal, and the other part sealed with the seals of the said masters; and that the said collectors shall have the parts of the indentures sealed by the masters at the exchequer on their account; and that the masters, when they come to Flanders, Holland, or Zeeland, shall deliver the other part to the governor of the liberties and privileges granted to merchants of England in those parts, for scrutiny, so that any wools, hides, or fells found uncocketed may be forfeited to the king, with the ships in which they are found, and the governor may send the said parts to the exchequer with the names of those exporting the wools, etc., at the end of the year; he has appointed John Malewayn, now governor of the said liberties, to receive the same from the masters in all ports and places on the sea in Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland, and make diligent scrutiny of all ships bringing wools, and seize as forfeit such wools as by the scrutiny and inspection of the said indentures shall be found to be not customed or cocketed, with the ships wherein these are found; during the king's pleasure."⁸

In September, 1353, the king and parliament, considering the great damage which had arisen from the staple being held out of the kingdom, determined that the staple for wool, hides, and wool-fells and lead, should forever be held in the following places, and

⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354-58*, p. 183.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1358-61*, p. 285.

no others: New-Castle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Winchester, Canterbury, Chichester, Westminster, Exeter, Bristol, Carmarthen, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda. All staple goods were ordained to be brought to some one of these towns, where every sack and every serplar of wool, after being fairly weighed in the presence of the officers of the customs, were to be marked, and the quantity attested under the seal of the mayor of the staple, previous to being shipped. . . A person well skilled in the merchant law was to be elected annually for the office of mayor of each staple by the native and foreign merchants of the place, and also two constables.⁹

But the working of the wool staple involved more than the operation of a fiscal expedient, devised to confine foreign commerce in fixed and well regulated channels so as to facilitate the collection of a great part of the revenue of the crown. Its functioning discloses not only the royal collectors, but also a large body of responsible and influential financiers and business men—the Merchants, as they were known, of the Staple.¹⁰

Although it may not be exactly correct to insist that a clear distinction always existed between the word “merchant” on the one hand, and words like “burgess,” “weaver,” “grosser,” or “mercier” on the other—for we know of many merchants whose business was small, and there were “merchant tailors”—still the word “merchant” was applied almost altogether, if not quite exclusively, to men who dealt wholesale in wool, cloth, wine, and money, and whose operations were intermunicipal or international. Foreign trade, commercial speculation, and some very uncanonical banking¹¹ comprised the chief activities of the merchants. Peddling in small lots characterized the chapmen. Manufacturing and shop-keeping were the business of craftsmen and burgesses.

The importance of the position of the greater merchants can hardly be overestimated. As Unwin points out,¹² for some years

⁹ Extracts from Statute 2, 27 Edward III, as summarized in Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, I, p. 550. The full statute is in *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 246-251, and in Pickering's *Statutes at Large*, II, pp. 78-96.

¹⁰ Lipson, I, pp. 484-487; Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, pp. 140-147. Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, I, part i, pp. 111-113.

¹¹ Ashley, I, part i, pp. 124-222; part ii, pp. 377-488.

¹² “The Estate of Merchants,” in *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, pp. 179-255.

the merchants threatened to become a separate estate of the realm, with the power to grant subsidies on wool quite independently of the action of the Commons in Parliament. From 1336 to 1365 Edward III was engaged in an almost constant struggle to increase his revenue through negotiations conducted directly with the merchants trading in wool. Richard II depended very largely on the English merchants to raise his loans and conduct his fiscal policy.¹³

The staple as the center of an active trading organization of these merchants is revealed as early as 1313 by the Ordinance of the Staple.¹⁴ "The Mayor and Commonalty of the Merchants" are ordered to set up a fixed staple, to which all wool shipped abroad must be taken. In 1313 Richard Stury is named as Mayor of the Merchants of the Realm, and is also called Mayor of the Wool-staple.¹⁵ In 1318 John of Cherleton is called Mayor of the Merchants of England, and in 1321 and 1326 the same John is called Mayor of the Staple.¹⁶

The shipping of wool to a foreign staple—located in the thirteenth century at Dordrecht, Bruges or Antwerp¹⁷—appears to have been optional with the shipper until 1313, though the convenience of a single near-by market, located in the principal consuming territory, undoubtedly influenced most merchants to trade there. After 1313, with the exception of one or two short periods, the foreign staple was compulsory. Only a chart could adequately represent the kaleidoscopic history of the institution from 1285 to 1391, but it was held at seven different cities, and was changed or abolished or restored no fewer than twenty-one times.¹⁸ Those cities of record where it was held were Dordrecht, Bruges, Antwerp, Ardenbourg, St. Omer, Middelburgh, and Calais. After 1391 it remained permanently at Calais until the recapture of that city by France in 1558.

That Chaucer's reference to Middelburgh does not fix the date of the Prologue is evident from a number of entries in the records

¹³ Hulbert, *Chaucer's Official Life*, pp. 43-44; Bourne, *English Merchants* (2d ed., 1836), pp. 33-70.

¹⁴ *C. P. R. 1307-13*, p. 591.

¹⁵ Lipson, I, p. 484.

¹⁶ Macpherson, I, p. 486 and note.

¹⁷ Lipson, I, p. 472.

¹⁸ Lipson, I, pp. 471-484.

which reveal the fact that many cargoes of wool were shipped to Middelburgh and other non-staple ports long before 1384.

The citizens and burgesses in parliament petitioned in 1372 that those merchants who had exported their wool, etc., under letters patent of the king, as well to Middelburgh as elsewhere, contrary to the ordinance in the last parliament, be guaranteed against damage or loss, according to the terms of the letters patent, notwithstanding the statute.¹⁹

The king and his council pardoned Henry Werkman, merchant of Chichester, on December 10, 1372, for exceeding the terms of a license to load sixty sacks of wool in the port of Chichester and to take them to Middelburgh in Zeeland or Dordrecht in Holland; the collectors had allowed him to load also 2,585 wool-fells, but he escaped punishment because he had paid the custom on the wool-fells.²⁰

The Commons complained in 1375 that the staple of wools ordained by Parliament at Calais was frequently violated by permits to export elsewhere, granted by the advice and with the collusion of the king's secret advisers.²¹

The Good Parliament of 1376 convicted Richard Lyons, merchant of London, of having procured a large number of patents and letters of license, to his own great profit and advantage, as a result of which a vast quantity of wool, etc., was exported elsewhere than to Calais.²²

Richard II in 1377 granted one recorded license to export wool elsewhere than to Calais.²³

Moreover, in 1382 Parliament itself granted permission to merchants, native and foreign, to carry wool, etc., to any country except France until Michaelmas, 1383, if the Calais subsidy and custom were paid in advance.²⁴

Of course I do not intend to imply that the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales was composed as early as 1372 or 1376, but it

¹⁹ *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 315 b.

²⁰ *C. P. R. 1370-74*, p. 225.

²¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 323.

²² *Ibid.*, 2, 323 b.

²³ *C. P. R. 1377-81*, p. 75. See also Lipson, I, p. 481, note 3.

²⁴ 5 Richard II, Statute 2, chapter 2.—Pickering, II, p. 249.

ought to be clear that no reliance can be placed on the commonly accepted inference of Hales.

The home end of the Merchant's trade route was the Orewelle, a river in the county of Suffolk. The wool port which Chaucer had in mind could scarcely have been Harwich, as is often asserted by editors, but must have been Ipswich, which is several miles up the stream, on the north bank, in the county of Suffolk. Ipswich was named as a staple in 1297, 1313, 1320, 1338, 1364, and 1404. It was still a staple town in 1450 and in 1464.²⁵ Ipswich was not named in the Statute of the Staple of 1353, which "forever" abolished the foreign staple, and established in its place a system of home staples. According to the plea of the men of Ipswich, as also according to the petition of the Commons, this nearly ruined all those omitted cities where staples had been held.²⁶ Ipswich was, however, designated as an additional staple by an act of 1364.²⁷ It was obviously a staple on July 1, 1365, when Thomas Staple, the king's sergeant-at-arms, and Hamo Colbrond were appointed to re-weigh all wool at eleven ports, including Ipswich.²⁸ That it continued as a wool port is shown by other documents, dated 1370, 1371, 1374, 1375, 1377, and 1382, in some of which collectors or controllers of the custom and subsidy on wool were appointed for Ipswich, in some of which assignments are made of the subsidy on wool collected in that city.²⁹

Harwich, on the other hand, is never mentioned as a wool port or as a staple city.

Several entries in the records witness the dangers of the passage between Ipswich and Middelburgh. Because the French enemies of the king, in 1379, had, with many warships, made war against the northern coasts of England, the Earl of Northumberland and the Mayor of London were directed to arm two ships, two barges,

²⁵ For 1297, see *Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, p. 86; for 1313, *Ordinance of the Staple*, C. P. R. 1307-13, p. 591; for 1320, Macpherson, I, p. 488; for 1338, *Ibid.*, I, p. 521; for 1364, *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 288 a; for 1404, *Ibid.*, 3, 555; for 1450, *Ibid.*, 5, 208 b; for 1464, *Ibid.*, 5, 563 b.

²⁶ *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 189 a, and 253 a.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 288 a.

²⁸ C. P. R. 1364-67, p. 150.

²⁹ C. P. R. 1370-74, pp. 23, 38; C. P. R. 1374-77, pp. 5-6, 93; C. C. R. 1377-81, p. 31; C. P. R. 1381-85, pp. 128, 360.

and two balengers for the keeping of the sea ("pur la garde et tuicion du mier").³⁰

That peril by land as well as by sea harassed the Merchant is shown by a document of the year 1385, when Nicolas Luke, merchant of Florence, loaded a ship at Middelburgh, bound for England, and was so closely chased at sea by certain of the king's enemies that at Orewell, county of Suffolk, the crew left her and came ashore; whereupon divers evil-doers entered her when beached and took away her cargo, which they refused to restore.³¹

Thomas atte Mille, the king's sergeant-at-arms, was appointed on January 15, 1387, to take the oaths of John atte More and his partners and the seamen whom the king had ordered with certain vessels of war to convoy certain ships laden with wools from the port of Orewell to the staple of Middelburgh with all convenient speed.³²

The complexity of the business affairs of a fourteenth century merchant is probably nowhere better illustrated than in a writ of *supersedeas* of February 25, 1385, in which is revealed a series of dealings so involved that I suspect that the calendarer—or perhaps the scribe—has made a slight error. Robert Waleys, collector of the customs and subsidy at the port of Ipswich, has brought suit against William Malyn, formerly Robert's bailiff and receiver at Ipswich. While occupying this office of trust William received fourteen sacks eight stone of wool by the hands of John Kernynge, merchant, and Robert Cromme; £70 in coined money by the hands of William Salman; 40s. by the hands of Henry Irland; and 23s. 4d. by the hands of Richard Staunford of Caleys, to traffic withal. For these commodities and moneys William Malyn refuses to account to Robert Waleys, thereby preventing him from contenting the king of money and accounts to him due. Moreover, in order to block the suit against himself at the exchequer, William has sued a cunning bill against Robert in the Gildhall in London, alleging that Robert owes him an accounting for six serplars and one pocket of wool, namely three serplars and one pocket received at Ipswich, three serplars at Dordrecht in Holland, £20 of Thomas Heywarde,

³⁰ *Rolls of Parliament*, 3, 63.

³¹ *C. P. R. 1385-89*, pp. 85-86.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 253.

citizen and merchant of London, at Middelburgh, and divers other parcels and matters.³³

Motley, and all its Elizabethan associations with fools, seems to us an inappropriate costume for the stately Merchant. But it was, in the fourteenth century, as well as later, quite the customary thing for members of every sort of gild or company to attire themselves in parti-colored liveries on state occasions.

In the sixth year of Richard II, on the occasion of the procession of London crafts to meet and welcome the new queen, the dress of the goldsmiths is described as follows:

“Memorandum, that the Wednesday after the feast of the Epiphany the mayor, aldermen, and commons were ordered to ride against the queen. . . And forasmuch as all the mysteries of the city had it in charge that they should not have vestures of other colours than red and black, the goldsmiths were arrayed in the same colours. Notwithstanding, as all the other mysteries had divers conuzances, the said goldsmiths chose theirs, and did wear on the red of their dress bars of silver-work and powders of trefoils of silver; and each man of the same mystery, to the number of seven score, had upon the black part fine nouches of gold and silk.”³⁴

The drapers' company of London had the following regulation: “All the company of the fellowship every (year or every second) year, after the advice of the said fellowship shall be clothed in a sute and livery, (that is to say) in that year that the livery is party, then to have no hoods, and if the clothing be of a colour, then to have hoods such as shall be assigned by all the whole fellowship.”³⁵

The grossers' company of London wore scarlet and green in 1414, scarlet and black in 1418, scarlet and deep blue in 1428, and violet-in-grain and crimson in 1450.³⁶

In 1444 Henry VI granted the leathersellers' company of London

³³ *C. C. R.* 1381-85, p. 614. The error which I suspect consists in the implication in the cunning bill that William received the six serplars of wool from Robert.

³⁴ Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, II, p. 217.

³⁵ *Oath Book or Book of Ordinances of the Drapers of London*, Ordinance 3, 6 Henry V (1418). — A. H. Johnson, *The Drapers of London*, p. 264.

³⁶ Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 612.

a new charter, which in a large initial letter at the top shows the king handing the charter to the members of the company. Of these there are eighteen pictured in colors, in five groups in the left hand margin. They are attired in a livery of party color, without hoods, of red on the left side, and blue on the right.³⁷

That the Merchants of the Staple wore a distinctive dress or livery is evident from the fact that in 1367 Edward III promised that the English merchants of the staple at Calais should be free from the custom and subsidy on all cloth sent to Calais, to be used for their own and their servants' livery.³⁸

In the light of his connection with the wool trade and, in all probability, with the crown's finances, as I shall presently show, the Merchant's transactions in shields are capable of at least one other interpretation than that given so convincingly by Flügel, even though on the face of the documents cited by Flügel his explanation is reasonable enough.³⁹

The quantity of money in fourteenth century England seems never to have been sufficient to carry on the business of the country with ease. Complaints of the scarcity of money were repeated year after year, as appears in petitions, ordinances, writs, and statutes.⁴⁰

Numerous remedies were proposed: the export of coined money, bullion, and plate was again and again forbidden;⁴¹ merchants were required to import a mark of bullion for every sack of wool exported;⁴² the importation of false, light, or clipped money was forbidden;⁴³ it was insisted that a certain amount of bullion must be

³⁷ The king and four members of the company are reproduced, but with much modification, in Herbert, *Livery Companies*, I, p. 63. The Herbert cut is reproduced in Hazlitt, *Livery Companies of the City of London*, p. 673. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, has a good facsimile in colors of a large part of the left hand side of the charter. The whole document is reproduced in facsimile in colors in W. H. Black, *History of the Company of Leathersellers*.

³⁸ Rymer's *Foedera*, III, ii, p. 836; Unwin, *Finance and Trade*, p. 345.

³⁹ *Anglia* 24, pp. 474-5.

⁴⁰ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* (3d edition, 1840), I, pp. 192-247.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 192, 231, 233, 242, *et passim*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 213, 216; *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 105.

⁴³ Ruding, I, pp. 215, 216, 223.

coined for all wool exported;⁴⁴ also for many classes of imports;⁴⁵ alien merchants were required to take out of the country English merchandise, and no money, in exchange for goods imported;⁴⁶ the export of Peter's pence was prohibited;⁴⁷ it was forbidden to melt down coined money in order to make vessels of gold or silver.⁴⁸

Nevertheless the rapid breakdown of the village or manor economy, accompanied as it was by the growth of a rural money economy, the immense growth of domestic and foreign commerce, as evidenced by extensive records and by the increase in the size and importance of the cities, and the necessity of financing large armies in France and Flanders, were constantly emphasizing the demand for an expanding currency. The laws against the exportation of money and bullion were constantly evaded, especially by papal emissaries and the subtle devices of traders, who hid money in bales of wool and at the bottom of barrels of fish.

One piece of practical machinery that was devised to prevent the circulation of foreign money and to work against the export of English money, was the royal exchange. In 1335 the Statute of York provided for the establishment of exchanges at Dover, London, Yarmouth, Boston, and Hull, and William de la Pole, merchant prince and financier, was given general custody.⁴⁹ Tables containing the rates of exchange for foreign coins were hung upon the walls of the exchanges, and private persons were forbidden to make exchanges for profit. By the Statute of the Staple of 1353, exchanges were established also at the home staple cities.⁵⁰ When Ipswich was added to the list of home staples in 1364, there is no reason to doubt that the establishment of an exchange accompanied the granting of the privilege.

That there was at almost any time plenty of chance for an unscrupulous official to demand dishonest toll through exchanging is revealed in one of the complaints against Richard Lyons in 1376. He was convicted of exacting an illegal four pence on every pound

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 237.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 237, 238.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 240, 251-53.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 232.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 210, 245.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 140.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 141; Macpherson, I, p. 548.

of money by way of exchange ("par voie d'eschange") from Lombard merchants and others, the greater part of the money so raised never being paid to the king.⁵¹ Richard, evidently a farmer of the royal exchange, was apparently selling shields and florins at a highly profitable rate.

The words "bargain" and "chevisance" were in very bad repute in Chaucer's day. "Barganers and okerars and lufars of simonee" are put into one category in the Towneley Plays.⁵² "Chevisance," as Flügel has shown, was a convenient circumlocution for usury.

To what extent the Merchant's bargains and chevisances were mere private business matters, and to what extent they involved him in the national finances, is not absolutely certain, but there is some evidence in favor of the latter view.

The part played by the merchants in the taxation of wool, especially through loans and advances on the *maletolte* or subsidy,⁵³ is now well understood by students of the fiscal and constitutional history of England. As I have already said, from 1336 to 1359 the merchants again and again threatened to become a separate estate of the realm, with constitutional power to vote the king a subsidy on wool. At least twenty assemblies of merchants were called by Edward III to discuss and act upon the possibilities of financing his French campaigns through the taxation and the purveyance and the monopolistic sale of wool. From 1338 to 1353 the exportation was usually in the hands of syndicates of merchants, which had a shifting membership, but in which there was a fairly constant group of about a dozen of the most powerful capitalists, and perhaps a score of others of very considerable importance.⁵⁴ This monopolistic method of doing business reached its culmination in the establishment of the Calais staple in 1363. This "placed practically all the export trade of the country under the control of a corporation of merchants chosen by the king from the ruling

⁵¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 323-4.

⁵² p. 313.

⁵³ The amount of the tax above the *custom* of 6s. 8d. per sack, if exacted without parliamentary sanction, was called a *maletolte*; if collected with the consent of the commons, it was called a *subsidy*. —Hall, *Custom-Revenue*, I, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁴ Unwin, *Finance and Trade*, pp. 191 ff.

class in the chief trading centres which displaced the municipality of Calais and received power to levy a new tax on wool."⁵⁵

The huge "floating debt," as we would call it, of Edward III began with his Scottish wars in 1327, and was steadily increased after he began to require unprecedented sums for his campaigns in France. In 1338, after negotiating with the assemblies of merchants and with parliament for a grant of 40s. a sack on wool, and after securing great sums in advance of the collection of his taxes from the Italian banking companies, the Bardi and the Peruzzi, as well as from native merchants, the king seized over 11,000 sacks of wool at Dordrecht, giving the owners only acknowledgements of indebtedness, which they were to recover through exemption from the payment of future subsidies. Henceforth Edward's financial policy was a sorry succession of further borrowings in anticipation of future subsidies, and of efforts to postpone the realization of all exemptions. The debts to the Bardi and the Peruzzi were eventually repudiated in 1345. The acknowledgements of debts to English merchants were apparently sold and resold, settling always into fewer and fewer hands. The Dordrecht debt, amounting to £65,000, is referred to as unpaid in 1348. In 1356 the Londoners seem to have held £60,000 of it.⁵⁶ In 1373 much of it seems to have been still outstanding, as appears from a petition of the heirs and executors of the merchants who had owned the wool.⁵⁷

It seems not at all unlikely that this debt, among others, was the occasion of the complaint by the Commons of the Good Parliament in 1376, when they said: "Since the king has been debtor of record to divers persons for very large sums, certain persons, with the assent and collusion of the king's secret advisers, have *bargained* (ont fait bargainer) for most of such debts, some for the tenth penny, some for the twentieth or hundredth penny, and have secured payment in full from the king."⁵⁸ One of the persons so accused was Richard Lyons, merchant of London.

Another bit from the same bill of complaint is illuminating: "Since the king has had need of divers sums of money for his wars and other purposes, certain persons, with the assent and collusion

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240; and see Index, s. v. Dordrecht.

⁵⁷ *Rolls of Parliament*, 2, 312.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 323 b.

of the king's secret advisers, have made *chevysances* at the need of the king of divers sums by way of usury, receiving greater sums than were furnished him. Of which *chevysances*, and of the profits arising therefrom, the said secret advisers of the king have been partners, to the great deceit and grievous damage of the king."⁵⁹

There is at least one record of the lending of a "great" sum of money to the king by a merchant of Ipswich. September 18, 1377, the collectors of the customs and subsidy at Ipswich were ordered to permit Gilbert Boulge of Ipswich to ship thirty-two sacks of wool without paying the subsidy, in repayment of the "great" loan.⁶⁰ Merchants of the Staple, some of them from Ipswich, continued as late as 1450 to lend money to the king and to secure repayment by exemption from payment of the subsidy on wool.⁶¹

It is possible, I believe, to explain the Merchant's success in concealing his debts only on the assumption that he was one of those persons who were deeply involved in the national finances. The official registration of private debts, together with the pledges and securities, before the mayor and bailiffs, had been the rule, at first in the case of specified cities, and afterwards in all cities, for a hundred years.⁶² The mayor and constables of the staple in home staple cities were also designated as official registrars of debts under the seals of their offices by the Statute of the Staple in 1353.⁶³ It seems certain therefore that the Merchant stood small chance of manipulating his accounts and business so as to conceal his insolvency, if Chaucer's allusion is simply to his private business.

On the other hand, merchants alien or native who farmed or collected the taxes, and who lent or advanced money to the crown, usually became so deeply involved on both sides of their transactions that the skill of even such a book-keeping century as the fourteenth was frequently unable to straighten out their accounts.

Unjust as Edward III's repudiation of his debts to the Bardi and the Peruzzi certainly was in 1345, he was able to color his

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2, 323 b.

⁶⁰ *C. C. R.* 1377-81, p. 31. Gilbert Blanchard of Bouche or Bouge is also named in *C. P. R.* 1367-70, p. 443. Of course I do not intend to imply that Gilbert was Chaucer's Merchant.

⁶¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, 5, 208.

⁶² Lipson, I, p. 264; Cunningham, p. 281, note 4.

⁶³ 27 Edward III, Statute 2, chapter 9. —Pickering, II, p. 85; Lipson, I, p. 480, note 1.

action with the plea that the bankers owed him a large sum of money which they had collected for him, and for which they could not account in the audit of their affairs.⁶⁴ That the English merchants, named the "King's merchants," were little more scrupulous or fortunate in distinguishing between the king's moneys and their own appears from a series of entries in the patent rolls between 1348 and 1356. On October 22, 1352, for example, a protection was granted to Walter de Chiriton, Thomas de Swonlund, Gilbert de Wendlyngburgh, William de Melchebourn, and a number of other merchants, farmers of the custom and subsidy, "who are held to the king in great sums of money at the exchequer." A new protection in the same terms was issued May 1, 1354, and was continued twice until 1356.⁶⁵

The manner in which a fairly honorable royal official used the king's moneys in his own business is illustrated by the plight in which, as we have seen, Robert Waleys found himself when William Malyn's peculations left Robert without the means to satisfy the exchequer with the sums of money which he had gathered as collector of the custom and subsidy at Ipswich.⁶⁶

Lastly, we find a request made by the Commons in the first parliament of Henry IV, in 1399, that an inquiry be made concerning those who have borrowed money in the name of King Richard, but who have paid none of the money to the king.⁶⁷

Chaucer's explicit denial of knowledge of the name of the Merchant, which has puzzled or misled several commentators, may now be made intelligible against this background of facts. Carpenter says, "*But* introduces an unexpected clause; one would expect that being a *worthy* man, his name would be known." Polard believes that contempt for the tradesmen is implied in the line. Liddell asks, "Does Chaucer insinuate, 'It wasn't worth while to learn his name, for he was just a merchant like another'?"

Geoffrey Chaucer, friend and official associate of the greatest London merchants, son of an importer and wholesaler of wine,

⁶⁴ Russell, "Societies of the Bardi and Peruzzi," in Unwin, *Finance and Trade*, pp. 119-128.

⁶⁵ *C. P. R. 1348-50*, pp. 50, 505, 559; *C. P. R. 1350-54*, pp. 2-3; *C. P. R. 1354-58*, pp. 34, 300, 369.

⁶⁶ See above, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁷ *Rolls of Parliament*, 3, 439 b.

controller of the custom on wool at the port of London from 1374 to 1386, with custody of part of the cocket seal, and member of the House of Commons, was unquestionably familiar with the conditions of which we have caught such revealing glimpses in the records, as well as with the careers of many merchants who were guilty of practices paralleled by those of Richard Lyons—who, after all, was only a victim of political spite. After so mordant a sketch of so eminent a character, and with the suspicion that too many shrewd readers might leap at a ready identification, it is easy to understand why a tactful writer should hasten to conclude with an alibi:

“But sooth to seyn, I noot how men hym calle.”

THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT OF CAESAR, PLINY, AND SALLUST AND THE LIBRARY OF CORBIE

By B. L. ULLMAN
University of Iowa

The Vatican manuscript lat. 3864 contains Cæsar's *Gallic War*, the *Cronica Iulii Caesaris*, also known as the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Hister, four books of Pliny's *Letters*, and excerpts of orations and letters from Sallust's *Histories* and *Wars*, and from the *Suasoriae*.¹ It is an important manuscript for the three classical authors, especially for Sallust, as it gives portions not found in any other manuscript. It is known as V for Pliny and Sallust and M or R for Cæsar.

Chatelain gives a facsimile of a page of the manuscript in his *Paléographie des Classiques Latins* (pl. 54) and says in his description: "provenant du monastère de Corbie." In the Table of Contents he labels it as *Corbeiensis*, as he does again in reproducing a page of the Pliny (pl. 144.1). He does not give the evidence for this origin nor have I been able to find any elsewhere, but it is clear from his caution at other times that it must be strong. Apparently he was not judging by the script. I had thought that perhaps, like Paris. 6796 (Pliny the Elder) it contains the note "Liber Sancti Petri Corbeie" (Chatelain pl. 140), or something similar, but an examination of the manuscript by Mgr. Mercati and Mr. H. J. Leon, Sheldon Fellow of Harvard University, (through the kindness of Professor E. K. Rand) failed to disclose any such inscription. Chatelain generally gives the evidence when he makes an attribution. Other Corbie manuscripts given by him are on plates 75.2, 161.1, 161.2. When there is the slightest doubt he inserts a question mark. So, e. g., on pl. 151.1 the Martial manuscript Paris. 8067 (*Corbeiensis?*), on pl. 79.2 the Horace manuscript *Bruxellensis* 9776 (*Gemblacensis?*). But the most striking example of his caution is on pl. 145, containing Laur. XLVII.36 (*Corveiensis?*) and Laur. LXVIII.1

¹ Regarded as Sallustian by the latest editor, A. Kurfess, in the Teubner edition of 1920.

(Corveiensis?). The former is a Pliny, the latter a Tacitus. There is some doubt about the former, as we shall see, but there can scarcely be any now that the latter came from Corvey. So it would almost seem, in spite of the silence of Hauler² and Detlefsen³ in their detailed descriptions of V, that Chatelain had positive evidence of its former sojourn in Corbie. Furthermore, Holder in his edition of Cæsar (which antedates Chatelain) categorically calls it (p. VI) *olim Corbeiensis*, in which he is followed by Kübler. Whether the evidence has by chance been omitted by all who have written on the manuscript or whether it is to be found in some of the literature inaccessible to me remains uncertain.

It should be noted that in the Pliny V is closely related to M (Laur. XLVII.36). Now M, according to Keil in his critical edition of Pliny, is in the same hand as a Tacitus in the same library (Laur. LXVIII.1) and was originally bound with it.⁴ The Tacitus, and therefore also the Pliny, was probably brought from Corvey in 1508. Thus far Keil. As Corvey was founded by monks from Corbie, it is natural to think of associating V (a close relative of M), or their archetype, with Corbie.

But the purpose of this note is to show that V is referred to in early catalogs of the Corbie library. It should be stated at once that it would have been almost impossible to discover this fact unless someone had previously associated the manuscript with Corbie. Three catalogs of the library are extant, one (fragmentary) of the eleventh century, one of the twelfth century, and one of the thirteenth century. These were published by Delisle, most recently in *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II, 427 ff. They are reprinted by G. Becker in his *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, the third being his no. 136. The following entries appear in this catalog:

191 historia Gaii Cesaris belli Gallici

192 Cronica eiusdem cum quibusdam epistolis

It occurred to me that although Delisle gives 191 and 192 as

² *Wiener St.* 17. 122 ff.

³ *Philol.* 17. 649 ff.

⁴ Chatelain (pl. 145) thinks that the hands are not the same, and judging from the facsimile which he gives I agree with him. But there is strong reason for believing that the manuscripts were once bound together. Cf. P. Lehmann, *Corveyer Studien* (1919), p. 38 (of Laur. LXVIII.1): "Nicht vom selben Schreiber, aber in derselben Schreibstube wie der Plinius Laur. XLVII. 36."

separate items they may have been intended together. It is clear that this catalog or Delisle's report of it is not always to be trusted in the division of the items. Fotheringham in the introduction to *Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius Reproduction in Collotype* (Oxford, 1905), p. 59, shows convincingly that two other items grouped together in this catalog have no connection with each other and are separately grouped in the earlier catalog. Again Delisle says (p. 439, n. 1.) that he fears his division of certain items is incorrect (he did not copy the catalog himself). He also reproaches Mai with incorrectness in division of the items. He argues several times from the contents of an existing manuscript exactly as I do below.

Now V contains Cæsar, followed by the *Cronica Iulii Caesaris*, some of the letters of Pliny, and letters and orations excerpted from Sallust. *Cum quibusdam epistolis* may refer to these letters. It may be noted that V contains only four books of Pliny, and, as Keil observed (p. VIII), it never contained any more, as there is a blank space of more than a page at the end of the Pliny. Does the catalog entry refer to V or some related manuscript? Thus far we can merely ask the question.⁵ Now for evidence which will allow us to make a positive assertion. In V there is prefixed an old table of contents which reads:⁶ "Codex in quo historia Gai cesaris belli Gallici libri VIII et in eodem cronica eiusdem et in eodem epistolarum G. plinij cecilij secundi libri IIIIor. Et in eodem orationes et epistole ex libris historiarum salustij." The exact agreement of item 191 and the first part of 192 with this description makes it certain that V is the manuscript described in 191 and 192. The agreement is all the more striking when it is noted that no manuscript of Cæsar, not even the Vatican manuscript itself, has, as far as I am able to discover, a title exactly like that in item 191.⁷ The Vatican manuscript and

⁵ I made the suggestion to Professor E. T. Merrill some years ago and he quoted it in an article in *Classical Philology*, X, 23. Through an inadvertence, however, he has Korvey for Corbie.

⁶ Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 127, n. 8; Detlefsen, *op. cit.*, p. 650. The former reports *ij*, as given above, the latter, *ii*. Even if Hauler is right, we need not hesitate to attribute the hand to the thirteenth century, as mentioned below.

⁷ The title "cronica eiusdem" was taken from a now erased title on f. 74 v, which, according to Detlefsen, once read "Chronica G. Iuli Caesaris," or, according to Hauler, "cronica Iulii caesaris."

B have "Incipiunt libri gail caesaris belli gallici iuliani de narratione temporum," A has "Incipit liber gail cesaris belli gallici iuliani de narratione temporum. Incipit liber suetonii." T and U have "Incipiunt libri gail iulii caesaris belli gallici de narratione temporum." Many others have the same or similar titles. Only one of the many manuscripts reported by Schneider⁸ has a title involving the word *historia*, and then in the form "C. Iulii Caesaris historiae belli Gallici a se confecti."

But how shall we explain the fact that item 192 does not mention Pliny and Sallust specifically? This must be due to the laziness or haste of the compiler of the catalog. There is plenty of evidence of similar treatment of other items. For example, no. 315 gives merely *Terentius*. The twelfth century catalog (Becker 79) has as item 291 (Delisle 287) *Terentii liber et in eodem disputatio Karoli et Albini*. Becker is probably right in identifying this with no. 315 of the later catalog. The later catalog has (107) *De temporibus*; the same manuscript in the earlier catalog, according to Delisle (*Bibl. de l'école des chartes* s. 5, tome I, 1860, p. 499 ff.) and Becker, is described as (73) *Beda de temporibus, et in eodem ars Donati, et Beda de metrica arte, et epigrammata Prosperi*. On the other hand, the earlier catalog is sometimes less complete. So I venture to identify (Becker is silent here) no. 217 of this catalog (*Lucanus et in eodem auctores plurimi*) with no. 323 of the later catalog (*Lucanus, Martialis, Statius*).⁹ Even more striking is the case of items 258 bis-268 in the later catalog, containing the lives of a great many saints, mentioned in detail. The earlier catalog merely gives (Delisle 308, Becker 312): *Vitae vel passionnes sanctorum apostolorum, martirum et confessorum seu virginum, per viginti volumina*. The identification is made by Delisle in *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, loc. cit.

That the compiler of the thirteenth-century catalog made use of a table of contents when he found one is shown by Delisle (*Le cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 107). Paris. lat. 12208, formerly at Corbie, has a table of contents worded thus: *In hoc volumine con-*

⁸ *Apparatus critici ad Caesaris commentarios pertinentis specimen*, Strassburg progr., 1839.

⁹ While it is not material to the present argument, I might add here that I think that no. 214 of the earlier catalog (*Lucani quedam pars et in eodem quedam pars Virgilii*) is to be identified with no. 319 of the later catalog (*Lucanus. Eneis. Fulgentius super Eneidos*.)

tenantur hi libri Augustini: de natura et origine animae ad Renatum liber I. Ad Petrum liber I. De conjugii adulterinis ad Polentium libri II. De jejunio sabbati ad Casulanum liber I. Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum libri II. Delisle points out that the description here given was copied in the Corbie catalog: *De natura et origine anime liber unus. Ad Petrum liber unus. De adulterinis conjugii libri duo. De observatione jejunii liber unus. Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum libri duo.* It is significant for our point that the catalog differs from the manuscript chiefly in being briefer. The same thing is true of Paris. lat. 12210 as compared with the catalog entry.

Is there any trace of our manuscript in the earlier catalog? No. 167 *Gai Caesaris historia* is identified by Becker with our 191. He is no doubt right in this. It will be noticed that the title is briefer and not in the exact order of the table of contents of V. There is no mention of the *Cronica* or anything corresponding to our item 192. The explanation is that in this case the earlier catalog is briefer. It shortens the title of the Cæsar and ignores the other works which follow the Cæsar. Parallels for such brevity were found in the manuscripts of Lucan and the lives of the saints mentioned above. This explanation therefore harmonizes with our view that items 191 and 192 of the later catalog are to be treated as one.

Detlefsen¹⁰ states that the table of contents in V is in a hand of the thirteenth century. The Corbie catalog which quotes this table also dates from that time.¹¹ It is possible that the table was compiled as a preliminary aid to the compilation of the catalog. It will be remembered that the earlier catalog, apparently antedating the table, does not agree with the wording of the table. It would be interesting to investigate the script and date of tables of contents found in other Corbie manuscripts and to compare them with the catalog entries.

According to Detlefsen, the three main parts of the manuscript have separate sets of signatures. From this fact he argues that the parts were not bound together until the time of the table of contents. This, of course, does not follow. The table of contents

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ Delisle, *Bibl.*, etc., p. 395: "commencement du treizième siècle;" p. 499: "vers 1200?"

is a *terminus ante quem*, not a *terminus post quem*. It should not be argued that the twelfth-century catalog, with its reference to Cæsar only, shows that the three parts were still separate. In that case the catalog should show separate entries for Pliny and Sallust. Detlefsen admits that the three parts were written at the same time and place and perhaps by the same scribe. Others assert that the whole manuscript is in one hand. The pages of Pliny and Sallust given by Chatelain seem to Professor Rand and me to have been written by the same scribe.

Whether our manuscript was written at Corbie is another question. Hauler¹² suggests that it was written at Fleury, which he thinks was the center of the Sallust tradition and in part of the Cæsar tradition. This suggestion, however, is no more than a possibility.

Professor Rand has suggested to me that V may have been written in the neighborhood of Tours, judging merely from the one page reproduced in Chatelain. He points out, however, that if it was written at Tours itself the manuscript may have gone to Corbie at once, since relations between the two monasteries were close at the time, as shown by the fact that the Vatican Livy was copied at Tours from the Puteanus, lent by Corbie.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

BETWEEN THE SHEPHEARDS CALENDER AND THE SEASONS

By ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON
University of Iowa

A considerable part of the devotional poetry written in England during the early seventeenth century comes to the reader of the twentieth almost totally devoid either of historical or literary interest. Two little volumes, however, now very rare, written by a Scotchman named Robert Farlie and published in London in 1638, possess for the lover of old books a real charm of their own and suggest for the student interesting literary relationships. One is a little collection of emblems entitled *Lychnocausia, sive Moralia Facum Emblemata*. The other, *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae; The Kalender of Mans Life*, consists of poems on the twelve months of the year, written in both Latin and English, and grouped according to the seasons. This volume, too, like the emblem book, is illustrated by quaint woodcuts, and belongs, at least in part, to the popular emblem literature of the day.

Strange to say, practically nothing is known of Farlie, the author, save the fact, communicated on his title-pages, that he was a Scotchman. The ordinary biographical dictionaries say nothing of him, and in several histories of Scottish literature, such as David Irving's *The Lives of the Scottish Poets*, he is mentioned simply as the author of these two books and of a third, *Naulogia, sive Inventa Navis*.¹ In such cases of obscurity, clues are often furnished in dedications or commendatory poems prefixed to the volume. But here again little help is derived. The dedications to Robert Carr, Duke of Somerset, are quite conventional, and the several friends who wrote in praise of Farlie's work said nothing to clear away the mystery. John Hooper, who wrote one address, professed that no man, unacquainted with Farlie's genius, would have expected poetry of such merit from Scotland. Christopher Drayton declared that the emblems would remain "bright shining Tapers to Eternity." Thomas Beedome, William Povey, and Edmund Coleman have much the same to say. But of them all we know only

¹ *Lives of the Scottish Poets*. Edinburgh, 1804. Vol. II, p. 293.

Beedome, the author of *Poems Divine and Humane*. Possibly nothing further can be disclosed of Robert Farlie than the fact of his Scotch descent.²

The *Lychnocausia* is one of the later, specialized emblem books devised to reawaken the already waning interest of the public. Like Philip Ayres's *Emblemes of Love*, in which each picture represents, after some guise or other, the well known figure of Cupid, Farlie's emblems all center about some instrument of light, such as the candle or lanthorn or beacon. The strange-sounding Greek word on the title-page means "the lighting of lamps," a title that John Keble used much later for one group of his contributions to *Lyra Apostolica*. About the margins of the title-page these various bearers of light are depicted, while the poem on the page adjoining, points out the moral that they teach. This moral is then stressed, in one phase or other, in all the fifty odd emblems that make up the volume.

It is my intention soon to treat the *Lychnocausia* more fully in its relation to the general history of emblems. Hence little need be said of it here; for, when once its plan is understood, the contents are obvious enough. One of its poems relates how the Greeks, on their way home from Troy, were misled by signal lights treacherously placed over dangerous reefs, and suffered shipwreck. From that experience this moral is drawn:

Whilst we unto our wisht-for Country goe,
This lifes feirce billowes tosse us to and fro.

Or another woodcut, for the motto, "Si tu foris, Ego domi — If thou abroad, I at home," is followed by a poem which might arouse to-day more protest than interest. It pictures domestic life:

The hardy husband from his house goes forth
Seeking to compasse businesse of worth.

² The name was not at all uncommon at the time. In the University of Edinburgh in 1606 and again in 1624 a Robert Fairlie was enrolled. *A Catalogue of the Graduates . . . of the University of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh, 1858. Pp. 22 and 39. At King's College, Cambridge, a Robert Farlie matriculated in 1601 and received his Bachelor's Degree in 1605-6. *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees*. Cambridge, 1913. Pp. 243 and 270. Farlie's literary friends, apparently, were Englishmen. From his poems on Oxford and Cambridge in *Lychnocausia*, we infer that he had a chief interest in the English universities. The seal of Cambridge, moreover, that is printed to accompany the poem, bears the words, "Alma Mater." Finally, the poet who signed himself "H. M.", after one of the commendatory poems, may have been Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist and poet.

He sailes by rockes and sands, earely and late
 He toiles, and seekes to purchase an estate:
 The wife at home much like a snaile she sits
 On hous-wifry employing all her wits.

The second volume is possibly of greater significance. It, too, has a quaint pictorial title-page that plainly shows the nature of the book. Across the top run two landscapes, one of a sunny field in the spring time, the other of a rugged stretch of land on a clouded summer's day. The two are separated by a circular inset, showing a human head and a death's head, and bearing the warning, "Memento Mori." Below, running vertically on either side of the title, are symbolical representations of the four seasons. An old man, for example, dressed in fur hat and heavy cloak, and seated before an open fire, represents winter; for the motto underneath is: "Winter hath gray haire." Autumn is symbolized by the picture of a man holding in one hand a cup, into which he seems to be crushing some grapes, while behind him waves a field of ripened grain. The motto reads: "And the Barnes were full." Apparently, the author aimed to impart something of the old lesson of the Dance of Death in new garb, with the seasons of the year as the basis of his symbolism.

The *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae*, to put it briefly, stands halfway between Spenser's *Shepheards Calender* and Thomson's *Seasons*. Farlie may, or may not, have known the earlier chronicles of the rustics' year, like the *Kalendrier et Compost des Bergers*, which Pynson published in an English rendering in 1506. Nothing in this farming manual served his purpose in the least. Spenser's poem, however, which was the first to handle the seasons of the year poetically, offered more definite suggestions. But where the *Shepheards Calender* had rude pictures for each month of the year, which were arranged in unbroken sequential order, Farlie's *Kalendarium* groups its twelve poems in four sets according to the seasons, and the pictures, as a general thing, are placed only before these larger divisions. Farlie stands, therefore, as the follower of Spenser in his poetic treatment of the months, and as the forerunner of the later Scotch poet, James Thomson, in his grouping of these months in seasons and in his moralizing on the varying aspects of the year.

If Farlie was acquainted with the *Shepheards Calender*, as he

must have been, Spenser's poem for December furnished him with the fundamental idea for his series of poems. In it, we are told, Colin "proportioneth his life to the foure seasons of the yeare;" he compares "his youthe to the spring time, when he was fresh and free from loves follye"; his manhood "to the summer, which, he sayth, was consumed with greate heate and excessive drouth" caused by love's passion; his riper years "to an unseasonable harveste"; and his latter age "to winters chyll and frostie season, now drawing neare to his last ende." Such, too, is Farlie's plan. The spring months are taken to typify the childhood and youth of man:

Mans Childhood is his May; wherein he playes,
And wantonly beguiles his carelesse dayes:
Then lookes he like an Angell, had he wings,
He is the prettiest 'mongst a thousand things.

In the same fashion the summer months represent early manhood:

So man in leavned age, and youthfull prime
Gives passions most violent for a time;
Tinder nor flaxe takes not with Vulcanes ire
More quickly, than youths bloods set on fire.

Just as naturally, Autumn betokens middle age, while man's last years are compared to December, when

The dayes halfe-shortned more and more decrease,
The nights extended and the Light growes lesse.

The whole plan is exactly that of Spenser; but the attitude of the two poets is different. Spenser's feeling is purely pagan. His shepherd laments the approach of age, and a tender melancholy pervades the picture, which closes:

Winter is come, that blowes the balefull breath,
And after winter commeth timely death.

All is in perfect keeping. Farlie looks on death with the assurance of a Christian. There is less true feeling in his lines, and less artistry in handling of mood, but more dogma, which leads to the poet's resolve:

So let me be dissolv'd, to be with Thee,
Our Father, Lord, to see.

As I hope soon to show, Spenser's poem betrays his early interest in the emblem books. But his work is only an approximation of that literary type. The emblems that are assigned to his charac-



ters after each poem would have been called normally in his own day *mots*, and the pictures are illustrative rather than symbolical. Some of the little woodcuts that adorn Farlie's volume are also illustrative; but others are more strictly emblems. For spring there are two pictures, one of a shepherd holding up a budding sprig, the other of a ploughman; the first is allegorical, the second merely pictorial, as these mottoes indicate: "Pullulo, I bud" and "Terram fodio, I dig the ground." A deeper meaning is conveyed by one of the two pictures for summer, which depicts a shepherd and a shepherdess in close embrace as an illustration for the motto: "Retrogradus ego—I shall goe backward." Summer, as the author understood it, corresponds to the period of hot passion in man's life, and to this the picture refers. One of the summer months, August, is furnished with a special illustration. From his position on a ladder placed against an apple tree, a man hands down to a woman on the ground the fruit that he picks. This converse of the equally famous scene in Eden bears the motto: "Haec Pietas." Had Eve only known that what is piety in man is impiety in woman! Other illustrations show two men drinking wine at a table; a woman scraping the scales from a fish; a huntsman flaying a victim of the chase; and an old man warming his hands before a fire. Some of the pictures are, like Spenser's, purely descriptive, while others more nearly resemble the didactic art of the emblem books. The last picture, called "Resurgent," depicts a party of men rising from table near which a musician stands playing on a stringed instrument.

Since Farlie lived under the old style of reckoning time, his year begins with the poem for March, the first month of the year. His method is in general to begin with some none too graphic observations on the aspects of the season, and then to proceed to moralizing. Only the last poem, February, which is made up of a series of elegies for patriarchs like Abraham, Noah, and Samson, departs from this plan. So December begins much as Thomson's *Winter* does with a picture of the season's gloom:

When Phoebus makes to Capricorne retreat,
In Southward declination lessoning heat,
Then days doe languish and the sadder yeare,
Lookes gloomy with his cold and dolefull cheare.

Then comes the moral, which fills the remainder of the poem:

So sad and slow, old age on man doth seize,
Fraughted with evils, an Hydra of curs'd disease.

Beside the real and vivid natural scenes of Thomson's *Seasons*, Farlie's descriptions appear marred by a cold and conventional classicism, both in phrase and idea. With this trite picture, for instance, the month of August is introduced:

When Phoebus doth with chaste Astrea meete,
Crowning the fruits & fields with influence sweet,
Then plants bring forth their fruits, after their kinde,
Not all alike, some good, some bad we finde.

To this last aptly chosen detail nothing by way of picture could possibly be added, and the author passes at once to moralizing:

So man in Youth shewes by his conversation,
His towardnesse, and former education.

Youth is the time of passion's sway; and

This passion as it is a whetting stone
To goodnesse, so to evill it spurreth on.

Farlie then contrasts the way of loose living and the steep and narrow road to Virtue's citadel. The monsters that are shown to lurk by the way remind one of Bunyan's wayfarer; but the refuge found at last by the faithful soul more closely resembles that won by the wise in the *Tablet of Cebes*. The poem ends with the prayer that the poet may be guided rightly, and with the thought that rounds off Thomson's *Winter*:

These worldly crosses, last but for a day,
And like the Eastwind, quickly flye away;
But sure I am when earthly sorrow's past,
Heav'ns thought-surpassing joy shall ever last.

This poem on August, which may be taken as typical of all save the last, shows that Farlie never observed nature's changing manifestations, as Thomson did, and that his moralizing is confined to conventional themes, without the tincture of worldly wisdom that the later London poet had. Especially in the short poems that stand before the different seasons is the prevailing classicism noticeable. Such is the poem for summer:

Aries was strong. Taurus did stronger prove,
Then Gemini did double heat and love:
Cancer who mounted, straight returned againe,
That Leo might couragious remaine;
Till Virgo with her fruitfull, hopefull eares

Doe rellish well the Farmers greedy feares.
 Since Signes for Mortals good can so agree,
 To Heav'n let ev'ry one most thankfull be.

With such imagery as this the poems are filled. Only occasionally does one find reference to full barns, the new-made wine, the plough, or the harrow. And the few thoughts drawn from the world of affairs are apt to be as quaintly phrased as is this:

Dog-dayes are past, when men were glad to weare
 Torne cloathes.

The most natural description in the whole volume graces the introductory poem. There a real garden is described, with its flowers and its plants set trimly in checkered beds, with the dew of the night still fresh upon them. Spenser and Milton and other later poets have used flowers in the same poetic way.

In neither volume, however, is there any free play of ideas to quicken the interest of the modern reader. Farlie in his misogynous pictures of the woman in the home and in his reflections on the burdens of matrimony seems almost to rival the notorious Francis Osborne in his *Advice to a Son*. Occasionally, too, he refers to the scientific ideas of his time and to the geographical discoveries that engrossed the interest of many of his contemporaries. A reference to "Londons Scholler-killing letter" as one of the many bearers of death to man, seems to carry a challenge for the annotator. But in both volumes, from the almost fulsome dedications to the Earl of Somerset to the closing woodcuts, there is almost nothing to reflect the author's experiences of life or his ideas on large questions.

For that reason one must stress almost exclusively the historical significance of the poems. Of them, Farlie's relation to Spenser and Thomson seems of most importance. But his work possesses a certain metrical interest also. He wrote ordinarily in the rimed couplet, using it awkwardly to the frequent obscuring of the syntax. At times, however, in supplementary poems he tried the four-beat couplet, and used it more handily than the longer line, as Burns also did. Again, in one or two cases Farlie used the alternating five-beat and three-beat lines. But his English style is so heavy and cumbersome that one wonders if he did not first write the Latin versions of the poems. A Latinist might object that his syntax there is not impeccable; but he really seems to possess a

greater ease and a more varied range of meters in the classical language than in his own.

During Farlie's lifetime great interest was taken in Latin verse by the cultured classes in Scotland. This is evidenced by the two paraphrases added in a seventeenth-century hand to the introductory poem in my copy of the *Kalendarium*. Farlie gives the poem in English only. But someone has added as a translation of one couplet:

Quam longa una dies, ætas tam longa rosarum est
Parturit una dies, conficit una dies.

In the same elegiac measure, with possibly a reminiscence of Ovid, the idea of another couplet is freely rendered:

Collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus, et nova pube
Et mæmor esto ætæ sic properare tuum.

All through the volume, also, the Latin version of the poems, more frequently than the English, is marked in the faded ink of possibly the first possessor of the book.

Robert Farlie, as a poet, richly deserves the oblivion into which his name has fallen. His two volumes, however, are historically very interesting, and possess, in addition, the charm that lies in many of the old books of their time. In the eighteenth century the reading public in London enjoyed much the same sort of books that we now have—the newspaper, the magazine, the novel. The seventeenth century knew quainter books that we no longer enjoy. To that class of forgotten books Farlie's belong.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE'S TREATMENT OF TURNER AND BURSCHENSCHAFTER IN HIS DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE IM NEUNZEHNTE JAHRHUNDERT

By STARR WILLARD CUTTING
University of Chicago

On reading in the second volume of von Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, the chapter devoted to the Burschenschaft, I was struck by what seemed to me sundry distortions that are incompatible with a true picture of the movement. A later examination of the archive material in Berlin and Weimar touching this whole matter, which must have been studied by von Treitschke, convinced me that the historian could not have written that chapter without the use of other material, the value of which as independent evidence would bear careful examination. For securing an independent control of the sources, I have taken pains to read the sworn statements of very many former Turner and Burschenschafter, as they appear in the records of their trials for treason in connection with their membership in an absurd revolutionary organization of a later date, the so-called *Jünglingsbund*. I have read many letters of such men written during their membership in the Burschenschaft. I have had direct access to the full records of the meetings and transactions of the Jena Burschenschaft, as they took shape in the years 1815-1819, when in 1904 I was a guest of the modern chapter of the Burschenschaft in Jena, called *Arminia auf dem Burgheller*, and I have studied a large number of books, pamphlets, and journal articles, written by contemporaries of the movement and by later students of the same subject.¹

Now the main and controlling purpose of von Treitschke in writing his *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* was to show his own day and generation how the whole earlier history, the achievements, and the ideals of Prussia had eminently pre-

¹ Invaluable for the student of this subject is the *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten . . . bearbeitet* von Wilhelm Erman und Ewald Horn, Leipzig und Berlin, 1904, Th. I und Th. II.

pared her for the political and economic leadership of the German states. He wished to make clear the vagaries of small-state judgment and of small-state action that had unreasonably delayed the realization of this foreordained leadership. While earlier and later chapters of his work gave him varying opportunity to do this, he found the story of the Turner-Burschenschaft movement especially adapted to this purpose. For this story could, by adroit manipulation of incidents and by judicious use of sources, be so told as to make the Turner and the Burschenschafter appear as having precipitated in large part the Prussian-Austrian Reaction that had delayed by more than fifty years the union of the German states into a single commonwealth.

He begins by belittling and caricaturing the founder of the Turner movement, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. He speaks of him condescendingly and at times sneeringly as of a well-meaning, ignorant, and patriotic clodhopper, whose popularity with old and young in his day was undeniable, although regrettable, and whose services to Germany in preparation for the campaign of 1813 had been vastly overestimated. He underlines as the outstanding feature of Jahn's work as an awakener of the German national spirit the coarsening and brutalizing influence of the man upon his pupils. This vain, shallow, loud-mouthed, and incompetent innovator, who recognized in his treatment of his pupils no differences of rank, and who recommended to them the general use of *Duzen* in their intercourse with each other is the central figure of von Treitschke's cartoon in the first part of his chapter. The cartoon as a whole is intended to show how the overweening conceit of Germany's young volunteers in the Napoleonic campaign had upon the return of peace created and emphasized the fiction of the great importance of the volunteer service of the people in the struggle just ended. Von Treitschke says, "The young men who had at one and the same moment enjoyed the dawn of their own conscious life and the dawn of the life of the fatherland or who as school-boys had with bated breath heard the marvels of the holy war were still intoxicated with the recollections of those unique days. In spirit they continued the struggle against French influence and against despotism and felt themselves tied hand and foot upon the return of the prosaic work of peace. How were they to understand what torturing economic cares burdened the

minds of their elders? In ancient times—approximately thus they summarized the philosophy of history—in the days of the migrations of the peoples and of the empire, Germany had been the ruling country of the world. Then had come the long centuries of impotence and of serfdom, of false education and romanization that had lasted until Lützow's *wilde verwegene Jagd* had stormed through the German forests, and the sacred ranks of German youth in arms had restored the German people to themselves." Instead of ascribing the downfall of the enemy to the Prussian troops of the line, to whom it was primarily due, young and old felt foolishly proud of the work of the volunteers at home and in the field and convinced that without their great sacrifice, the performance of the task would have been impossible. Jahn appears here as the ignorant and hopelessly prejudiced champion of a movement out of harmony with the line of historic development. We recall, as a matter of fact, his dislike of and contempt for the gilt trappings, the snobbish manners, and the showy evolutions of the professional military class. We recall further that he championed the *Turnkunst*, as, among other things, an effective substitute in the life of the nation for the *Gamaschendienst*, which he hated. He doubtless enjoyed the gibe at military pedantry, phrased by the boys of that day in the song:

Es hat der Held- und Kraft-Uhlan
Sich einen Schnürleib angetan,
Damit das Herz dem braven Mann
Nicht in die Hosen fallen kann.

Yet no one who has read the biographies of Jahn by Pröhle and by Euler, who has read Jahn's works, for instance, his *Deutsches Volkstum* (1810-1817²), who has studied the picture of him recalled by his former pupil, the reactionary historian Heinrich Leo, and who is conversant with Jahn's career as student, as volunteer soldier against Napoleon, and as founder and teacher of modern gymnastics, can accept as true history the distorted image presented by von Treitschke in the opening words of his chapter on the Burschenschaft.

Jahn was certainly not a man of elegant manners nor one who always carefully chose for oral or written use a faultless diction. He was no thoroughly trained etymologist and made more than one laughable slip in attempting to identify words of Latin deriva-

tion with Germanic stems *pro gloria patriae*. He was blunt and unpolished in personal intercourse, a hater of shams, and a man who called a spade a spade. His sincerity and directness were the antipodes of the diplomatic evasions of his day. With the German Romanticists he idealized the national past and with them exaggerated the value for his own time of numerous accidental features of that past; but he was not an ignoramus nor a cipher. He was an ardent supporter of the ideal of national unity and an advocate of a physical and spiritual reform of his own generation of Young Germany. Hence the launching by him of the *Turnerkunst*, which has continued to be since his day one of the most vital institutions of the German people. The influence of Jahn upon some of the best men of his day was great. Max von Schenkendorf superscribes his poem, *Wenn alle untreu werden, so bleiben wir doch treu* with the words: *Erneuter Schwur an den Jahn*. Friedrich Thiersch dedicated to Jahn his edition of Pindar and emphasized in his preface that with the Greeks, as with the Germans, gymnastics was bound up with all other ideal strivings of humanity. Von Treitschke quotes this view of Thiersch and adds to it the comment: "And yet the champions of the Hasenheide more closely resembled the gladiators of Caracalla than the laurel-crowned winners of the Olympiad." Jahn's ideal of the need of a physical hardening process, including long and difficult marches, camping in the open, plain fare, temperance in all things, and hard work, which appealed so strongly to the college-boys and school-boys and artisan apprentices of that day, does not meet the approval of von Treitschke. He writes: "Among brave peoples all systematic schooling in physical exercise must serve a military purpose to escape degeneration into effeminate fooling." He fails to see that this hint as to the effect of Jahn's gymnastics is quite inconsistent with his already quoted comparison of the gymnasts to Caracalla's gladiators; for the Roman gladiators, whatever else they may have been that was undesirable, were certainly not effeminate. Jahn and the Turner are obnoxious to von Treitschke, chiefly because they attach what seems to him undue importance to the activity of the volunteer soldier (*die Erhebung des deutschen Volkes*) in the war against Napoleon's imperialism. It was to his mind Jahn's fatal mistake, that he contributed so substantially through his whole Turner-movement towards awakening the Ger-

man intellectual classes to a false and misleading sense of their own importance, of their own demonstrated merits, of their right to a share in the ordering of their own affairs by means of a written constitution and of representative government. For without such an awakening through Jahn and others the people would never have noticed the failure of most of the German princes to redeem their explicit promises of constitutional government. They never would have become restive and impatient at this failure and would never, therefore, have given the Reaction in Prussia an excuse for interference with freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of public assembly. The political *status quo ante* would have been satisfactory; Prussia would have enjoyed the continued confidence of the intellectuals of the German states; and as a result of this an early consolidation of the German states into a commonwealth under Prussian leadership would have been feasible.

The historian and publicist, Heinrich Leo, since 1863 lifelong member of the Prussian Herrenhaus, was in his student days an enthusiastic pupil of Jahn and member of the Burschenschaft. When in 1821 he became a lecturer at the University of Erlangen, he suddenly broke off his connection with the Burschenschaft and became as years went by more and more a conservative disavower of the dreams of his own youth and of the Young Germany of his own day. In his *Aus meiner Jugendzeit*, Gotha, 1880, written in his old age, he expresses his student-day astonishment and shock at the minute directions given one day by Jahn for the use of the dagger in personal combat. Franz Lieber, the Jena student and later Professor of International Law at Columbia College, New York, kept a diary in those days in which he entered sundry *Gold-sprüchlein aus Vater Jahn's Munde*, with an occasional word of comment by himself. One of these nuggets, treasured by Lieber, runs: "Wort gegen Wort, Feder gegen Feder, Dolch gegen Dolch," which evoked from the young disciple the comment: "Nehmen sie mich fest, wohlan!" Now von Treitschke, in his desire to cast a sinister light upon the character of Jahn, mentions these items with the air of Dickens's Sergeant Buzzfuzz in his weighty hints as to the dark meaning of the fateful words, "*Chops and Tomato Sauce! Yours, Pickwick.*" The plain implication of the historian is that Jahn's young people were a dangerous set of potential

conspirators, whereas they were as a matter of fact part of the cleanest, hardiest, and sanest representatives of Young Germany. The first serious contemporary attack upon Jahn's *Turnkunst* was contained in Heinrich Steffens's *Die gegenwärtige Zeit und wie sie geworden*, 1817, and then especially in his book, *Karikaturen des Heiligsten*, 1819-21. The weird eccentricities of Jahn and his followers were viewed by Steffens with all the ponderous solemnity of an honest devotee of natural science, unrelieved by any sense of humor or insight into human history. He felt it to be his bounden duty to save his country from perdition at the hands of the young gymnasts. Steffens was a man of unquestioned ability as a student of natural science and of philosophy; but he was here fighting windmills like his Spanish predecessor. The attack was seconded by numerous similar efforts on the part of the weak, the timid, and the superpatriotic to decry the new and on the whole healthy devotion to physical exercise in the open in place of the traditional indoor fencing, smoking, and excessive drinking. The prevailing ugliness, unfairness, and provocative tone of these attacks poisoned the temper and rendered self-conscious every word and act of the youthful Turner. As Prussian Minister of Public Instruction under von Hardenberg Karl Altenstein was made suspicious by Steffens's attack. Von Treitschke adds: "So lange als möglich bewährte er seine wohlwollende Haltung; erst als das lärmende Treiben der akademischen Jugend die Reaktion entfesselt hatte, brach die Verfolgung auch über die Turnplätze herein." But the Reaction was already in full swing when the alleged boisterous activity of the academic youth began. The Reaction was certainly not evoked by the fantastic pranks of the singing, tramping, and camping-out Turner. Rather is it accurate to affirm that the Reaction appeared close upon the heels of the Napoleonic conflict. Privilege of all sorts, high and low, the reigning heads of states, the officials whose status and prospects were bound up with the fortunes of dynasties, and the super-patrioteers of all ranks of society were early alarmed by the unmistakable signs that the intellectual classes of the German people were looking for a constitutional recognition of their share in crushing a foreign despotism. These elements were alarmed at the possibility of a wide-spread discussion of the numerous definite promises of constitutional government which had been given by

several heads of German states to secure the interest and willing coöperation of the population in driving out a hated invader. This genuine alarm, not the Turner and not the Burschenschafter, was the cause of the Reaction. Von Treitschke, therefore, confuses cause with effect at this point, as he does throughout the chapter.

We recall the chaotic, incoherent, and narrowly clannish aspects of German student life at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Landsmannschaften and Orden were fraternities that had long ceased to function like the mediæval academic nations from which they had been derived. They were devoid of national pride, were but little interested in the intellectual problems of their own generation, and were dominated by a pettiness of outlook upon life that fostered the spirit of gambling, of intemperance, and of dueling as a pastime and as a means of settling quarrels and of demonstrating individual and fraternity honor. All this was but an academic reflection of similar narrowness of vision and provincial chauvinism that had long prevented the German people from regaining a national existence that had once been theirs. Men like Goethe had noted this lamentable state of student life, without seeing the bearing of it upon the development of German life as a whole. Men like Fichte, Jahn, and Friesen believed that any political German union that was worth while would come through a recognition by the intellectual leaders of the country of the vital mutual interests of the separate states and provinces and through their efforts to promote these interests by coöperation. In their eyes the leadership needed must be recruited from the students of that day, schooled by a reform of academic community life adapted to broaden the horizon and to quicken the national pride. The hope of promoting such a consolidation of intelligent leadership and of thereby hastening the day of political unification was in the hearts of Fichte and his friends when they suggested the Burschenschaft as a single organization to take the place of the innumerable Landsmannschaften and Orden, the academic chaos of that day. In the summer of 1815, after a long series of preliminary discussions between a few students and their older friends touching the constitution of the new association, the Burschenschaft was founded at Jena. In the year 1814 Professors Oken and Luden in Jena had written to Jahn in Berlin, asking him to send to Jena

two expert Turner, who should organize classes in gymnastics at Jena and continue their academic studies there. Jahn selected for this purpose C. L. Dürre and Hans Ferdinand Massmann. Both students joined the Jena Burschenschaft in 1815. Thus from the first there was at Jena a close institutional connection between Turner and Burschenschafter.

The rapid spread of the idea of the Burschenschaft and its embodiment between the years 1815 and 1819 in chapters of the society at the Universities Berlin, Breslau, Erlangen, Giessen, Halle, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Marburg, Rostock, Tübingen, and Würzburg; the federalization of these chapters in the Allgemeine Burschenschaft in the autumn of 1818; the efforts of the European Reaction under the leadership of the Austrian Minister, Metternich, to suppress the rising tide of democratic enthusiasm and hope in the hearts of German liberals, efforts directed especially against the Burschenschaft; the assassination of the insignificant publicist and playwright, August von Kotzebue, March 23, 1819, by the insane Jena Burschenschafter, Karl Sand; Metternich's diplomatic triumph in his Teplitz interview with the Prussian King July 29, 1819, and the Karlsbad Resolutions of September 20, 1819, which removed the prospect of representative government in the several states for the near future, dissolved the Burschenschaft, muzzled the press, and placed the faculties of the schools and universities under government censorship, and, finally, the governmental discovery in November, 1823, of a fantastic, inchoate, revolutionary society, the so-called *Jünglingsbund*, and the arrest, police prosecution, and conviction of its members on the charge of high treason; these items of early nineteenth century German history are all well known.

One fundamental fault of von Treitschke's account of the Burschenschaft is his failure to emphasize its great merit as an admirable expression of a much needed reform of German student-life. We read his account in vain to discover that the Burschenschaft everywhere greatly reduced the annual number of duels, as distinguished from legitimate fencing, and promoted a far more worthy type of student sentiment and conduct than that which had long prevailed hitherto. He fails to mention its formation of reading and discussion clubs and other similar circles for the special study of historical, philosophical, and scientific questions, suggested by the

regular lectures of the professors. He knows nothing of an increased interest in the library and laboratories, stimulated by the patriotic Burschenschaft. He is blind to the beauty and inspiring example of the Wartburg Celebration of October 18, 1817, with its three-fold relation to the work of Luther, to the recent battle of Leipzig, and to the first gathering in recorded history of representatives of the non-official classes of the various German states in the bonds of good fellowship. Rather does he watch here narrowly for signs of self-consciousness, vanity, and arrogance on the part, here and there, of a speaker of the occasion; or he blames the Jena professors, Fries, Luden, Oken, and Schweitzer, for failing to rebuke with sufficient sharpness and effectiveness the precociousness of the youthful participants in the program.

Von Treitschke condemns what he terms the desire of the Young Germans of that day for an obliteration of all characteristic features that differentiate the various German states from one another; in doing this, he overlooks the fact that these young romanticists were for the greater part admirers of the good old days and of the peculiar merits of particular German landscapes, traditions, and customs. They emphatically did not desire the obliteration of these hall-marks of state or provincial individuality. They did champion such a removal of unnecessary barriers to commerce and to a large state-life as would, in some way not clear to that generation, weld, out of the existing states, a common Fatherland. A pithy expression of this misconception of von Treitschke is his comment upon the fact that of the eleven founders of the Jena Burschenschaft only one, Hans Ferdinand Massmann, was a Prussian. He says: "Die andern waren alle Thüringer, Mecklenburger, Kurländer, Hessen, bairische Franken, und ihnen allerdings fiel es nicht schwer ihren heimatlichen Staat in einer allgemeinen Deutschheit einfach untergehen zu sehen." This raises the question whether von Treitschke ever really understood the meaning of Arndt's song, so frequently heard in the social meetings of the Burschenschafter of that day: *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?*

In speaking of the communion service in the Eisenach church administered in connection with the *Wartburgfest* on the afternoon of October 18, 1817, von Treitschke writes: "Dieselbe widerliche Vermischung von Religion und Politik, die schon aus Fries

Rede sprach, offenbarte sich dann noch einmal am Nachmittage, als einige der Burschen auf den Einfall kamen, noch das Abendmahl zu nehmen. Der Superintendent Nebe gab sich in der Tat dazu her, den aufgeregten und zum Teil angetrunkenen jungen Männern das Sakrament zu spenden." How does von Treitschke know about this alleged intoxication in connection with the communion service? Only one of his sources mentions it. Heinrich Leo is this source. He mentions on page 161 of his *Aus meiner Jugendzeit*, Gotha, 1880, in his description of the scene only one intoxicated person, a young Garde-Leutenant Pl—e—not, therefore, a student. Von Treitschke is careful not to use the word Student or Bursch. Now over 200 Burschen participated in the communion service. Von Treitschke's expression, "*einige der Burschen kamen auf den Einfall noch das Abendmahl zu nehmen*," is evidently intended by the historian to suggest a gross impropriety on the part of Superintendent Nebe in consenting to administer the communion to a squad of disorderly young fellows, by implication students, some of whom were drunk. But the communion service, as a feature of the *Fest*, intended to mark, among other things, the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Protestant Reformation, was entirely appropriate. The impropriety at this point consists in von Treitschke's falsification of Leo's testimony, in order to strengthen his recurrent contention that the Burschenschaft were essentially Kleinstaatler with but scant respect for law and order. His intention is made convincingly clear by the appositional phrase: "Ein charakteristisches Probstück der Schlawheit, welche die weltlichen und die geistlichen Behörden der Kleinstaaten in unruhigen Tagen immer ausgezeichnet hat."

Von Treitschke steadily wishes to make it appear that Prussia did practically nothing reactionary to excite the suspicion of the patriotic liberal element in Germany until compelled to do so by the increasing signs of Jacobinism among the people. Hence, as we have seen, he abuses Jahn and his followers to show that the attack of Heinrich Steffens, Friedrich Raumer, Oberlehrer Wadzeck and others upon the demagogic spirit of the Turner is to be regarded not as provocative of popular resentment but as provoked by the turbulent action of the Turner themselves. He is so anxious to make the Prussian government of that day seem always in the right in its relations to the people that he conceals from himself

and from his reader the real nature of that government and of that relationship. He has set himself the difficult task of making the King, Friedrich Wilhelm III, appear as a noble, conscientious, and intelligent head of the Prussian state, responsible for its national policy. He takes pains, therefore, to shield him from the blame attached to him by the liberals of that day because of his approval of Privy Councilor Theodor Anton Heinrich Schmalz, the first Rector of the Berlin University. The known facts are the following: In August, 1815, Schmalz published a sixteen page pamphlet entitled *Berichtigung einer Stelle in der Venturinischen Chronik für das Jahr 1808* as an excuse for a violent diatribe against political associations: "Diese Menschen wollen durch Krieg der Teutschen gegen Teutsche Eintracht in Teutschland bringen; durch bitterm gegenseitigen Hass Einheit der Regierung gründen; und durch Mord, Plünderung, und Notzucht altteutsche Redlichkeit und Zucht vermehren." The patriot societies, he said, had played no rôle worth mentioning in the action of 1813: "Weder von solcher Begeisterung noch von Begeisterung durch sie war 1813 eine Spur bei uns." The people had waited quietly for the call of the King and had then risen by request. No enthusiasm but everywhere a calm and hence more effective sense of duty. Everybody hastened to arms and to each task, as people from a most ordinary sense of civic duty hasten to put out a conflagration when the alarm sounds. The storm of indignant protest at this attack rose high and the King made a bad matter worse by forbidding each party to continue the dispute, by decorating Schmalz with the Order of the Red Eagle, and by renewing the law of 1798 against secret societies. This reactionary screed, appearing but eight weeks after the battle of Waterloo, elicited sharp replies from Niebuhr, Schleiermacher, and others. The protests remained unheeded. But the event was not forgotten and helped prejudice the public against what was regarded as the reactionary sympathies of the Prussian King. Von Treitschke is anxious, however, to prove that Friedrich Wilhelm III did not confer the Order of the Red Eagle upon Schmalz as a reward for his reactionary diatribe. In the *Beilagen* of the third volume of his *Geschichte*, he prints the only discoverable document touching the personal relations of the King to Schmalz, a Cabinets-ordre of August 16, 1814, which runs as follows: "Ihre . . . mir angezeigte

Absicht, durch Ertrag öffentlicher Vorlesungen zur Erleichterung solcher Invaliden, welche das Eiserne Kreuz erworben haben, fort-dauernd wirken zu wollen, schätze ich nach Ihrem ganzen Wert." While admitting that he does not know why the King decorated Schmalz with the Order, von Treitschke suggests that it may have been in recognition of the patriotic service just mentioned. Since, however, the public of that day, including the Burschenschaft, knew nothing of the Cabinetsordre and of the lectures it recalls, it cannot be blamed for attaching to the events mentioned, as they did appear in print, a meaning less flattering to the King and to Schmalz.

He writes of the Jena Burschenschaft, as it was in 1817-18: "Die radikale Partei der *Altdeutschen* sonderte sich allmählich schärfer von der unschuldigen *Masse* der Burschen ab. Während diese, des ewigen politischen Geschwätzes müde, sich in Lichtenhain ein lustiges Bierherzogtum einrichtete, sassen jene 'ruhigen republikanischen Staatsmänner', wie Arnold Ruge sie nennt, in ihrer Republik Ziegenhain feierlich beisammen und untersuchten in pathetischen Reden, ob die Einheit Deutschlands besser durch Ermordung oder durch friedliche Mediatisierung der Fürsten zu erreichen sei. Ein neues Lied 'Dreissig oder Dreiunddreissig, gleichviel!', sprach sich sehr aufrichtig für den erstern Weg aus, doch gab es auch noch einzelne sanfte Naturen, welche dem König von Preussen ein Gnadengeld von 300 Thlr. jährlich vergönnen wollten." Now both Leo and Robert Wesselhoeft in his *Teutsche Jugend in weiland Burschenschaften und Turngemeinden*, Magdeburg, 1828, speak of the majority of the Jena Burschenschaft as the opponents of the Lichtenhainer. According to these eyewitnesses, the *Lichtenhainer* with their *Bierherzog* and the few radicals given to the kind of Kannegiessern, humorously described by Arnold Ruge in the passage just quoted, were outnumbered and outvoted by the *Altdeutschen* whose headquarters were in Ziegenhain. Since the two eyewitnesses here agree with each other and not with von Treitschke, I must regard the later historian as in error in the premises.

Apparently to emphasize the groundlessness of the popular prejudice against the shallow, unscrupulous cosmopolitan journalist and publicist, August von Kotzebue, von Treitschke writes: "Auch Kotzebue schickte von Zeit zu Zeit Berichte nach Petersburg, doch

zählte er keineswegs zu den gefährlichen Spähern, da seine Bulletins lediglich kritische Übersichten über die neuesten Erscheinungen der deutschen Literatur brachten." The attentive reader of this passage, who has read Kotzebue's *Bulletins*, knows that the statement does not square with the reality of the case. "Critical reviews of current German literature" is an undeservedly flattering designation of this uncritical, sycophantic, penny-a-liner reporting of disconnected fragments of publications that seemed to the old rogue sufficiently piquant to make a hit with the foreign government. The specimens accidentally intercepted, translated from the French original, and with notes by Kotzebue (taken from his *Literarisches Wochenblatt*, 1818, No. 42), Lindner, and Luden, Mühlhausen, 1821, published under the title: *Noch acht Beiträge zur Geschichte August von Kotzebues und Carl L. Sands I und II*, are really a series of disconnected newspaper clippings about various topics, held together by a tissue of sly insinuation as to the *restless age* and its *dangerous agitation for freedom of person, speech, and press*. They abundantly justify the liberal judgment of that day as to the reactionary and mischievous tendency of Kotzebue's activity in Germany. We remember that Goethe heartily approved the Wartburg bonfire condemnation of Kotzebue in the words:

Du hast es lange genug getrieben,
Niederträchtig vom Hohen geschrieben.
Dass du dein eigenes Volk gescholten,
Die Jugend hat es dir vergolten.

Von Treitschke grudgingly admits the sincere, patriotic, and beautiful spirit of the Wartburgfest as a whole and the soundness of Karl August's approval of the Burschenschaft; but he hastens to minimize the effect of this admission upon the mind of the reader by overemphasizing the callow judgment and execrable taste of the student participants in the extemporized feature of the celebration, the *Autodafé* on the Wartenberg on the evening of October 18, 1817, and repeatedly ridicules and blames the professors Oken, Luden, and Fries for their interest in the celebration and for their attendance upon the exercises.

Karl Follen came to Jena as a lecturer in the faculty of law in October, 1818. In Giessen he had been an organizer of reading circles and discussion clubs that had finally been merged in the

Giessen Burschenschaft, a relatively small fraction of the whole Giessen student body, organized under a constitution drawn up by Karl Follen and called by him: *Ehrensiegel der Burschenschaft zu Giessen*.² The story of Follen's connection with and direction of this group has been told in detail by Hermann Haupt in his book: *Karl Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen*, Giessen, 1907. The most complete biography of Follen is that of George W. Spindler, *The Life of Karl Follen*, Chicago, 1917. Before the appearance of Spindler's work the most comprehensive biography of this remarkable man was the Memoir of his Life, published in 1842, in Boston, by his widow, Eliza Cabot Follen in her edition of his works. Robert Wesselhoeft, one of the most influential leaders of the Jena Burschenschaft and an outspoken opponent of Follen's principle of *Unbedingtheit*, as applied to student life and to civil life, joins with all who knew the man in Giessen, in Jena, and in America in emphasizing the purity and strength of his character, his lofty idealism, his generosity, and his Christian love of his fellowmen. He was certainly no selfish placeseeker, trying to sway the minds of his fellows to his own advantage. But he was an unswerving follower of his own conviction in all the interests of his life. He believed in the immortality of the human soul and in the equality of all men (Sermons, Works II, 6f.). He believed in the infallibility of the human reason as a guide of human conduct. Human conduct is for him good or bad, according as it is, or is not, shaped by the conviction of the individual. Courage always to shape one's conduct according to the individual conviction was for him the highest attainable virtue. This courage was in his eyes the essential trait in the character of Christ. (cf. the portrait of Follen given by Wesselhoeft on pages 52-90, in his book mentioned above). This is reflected in the words of his Communion Song (*Abendmahlslied*): *Ein Christus Sollst du Werden*. Confidence in his own capacity to fulfill the requirements of this program of life and an extraordinary mental agility and readiness in meeting argument with counter-argument produced in his bearing in those days a certain hardness and indisposition to make any concessions whatever that confined his direct leadership to a small

² Published as *Beilage E* by Joachim Leopold Haupt in his *Landmannschaften und Burschenschaft*, Altenburg, 1820, pp. 307ff.

group in Giessen and to a still smaller group in Jena. Wesselhoeft writes, p. 75: "Zum Glück für die Welt waren unter etwa dreissig Freunden, welche einen engeren Kreis um den Dr. Follenius bildeten, nur drei, welche ganz Unbedingte wurden, und etwa fünf, welche schwankten. Zu jenen dreien gehörten Sand und der selige Ferdinand" (Wit, genannt von Dörring). Sand declared publicly that in the summer of 1818, before he had met Follen personally, he had had published and had distributed Follen's *Grosses Lied*, of which the *Abendmahlslied* quoted above is a single part. On the inside of the cover of Sand's diary for the year 1818 are the words: "Gott, lasse mich an deiner Erlösung des Menschengeschlechts durch Jesum Christum festhalten, lasse mich sein ein deutscher Christ." This echo of the exhortation in Follen's song and the frequent occurrence in Sand's diary-entries of the words *Überzeugung* and *Unbedingt* in the autumn of 1818 make it seem to me certain that the unbalanced mind of the conscientious, emotional, and impressionable Sand was led by the mind of Follen to commit murder as an expression of his religious conviction. This is corroborated by the final entry of his diary, December 31, 1818: "So begehe ich den letzten Tag dieses Jahres 1818 in ernster feierlicher Stimmung, und bin gefasst, der letzte Christtag wird gewesen sein, den ich eben gefeiert habe. Soll es etwas werden mit unserem Streben, soll die Sache der Menschheit aufkommen, in unserem Vaterlande, soll in dieser wichtigen Zeit nicht alles wieder vergessen werden, und die Begeisterung wieder aufleben im Lande, so muss der Schlechte, der Verräter und Verführer der Jugend, A. v. K. nieder, dies habe ich erkannt." (cf. Wesselhoeft, pp. 84-85, footnote; Leo, *aus meiner Jugendzeit*, Gotha, 1880). It is also quite possible that Karl Löhning of Idstein, who had associated with some of the Giessen Blacks was indirectly influenced by the *Grundsatz der Unbedingtheit* to right his personal grievance by an unsuccessful attempt upon the life of President von Ibell of Nassau, July 1, 1819.³ But von Treitschke ascribes to Karl Follen a leadership of, and influence upon the Jena Burschenschaft and upon the Burschenschaft as a whole, which he never possessed. One of his chief sources for this purpose is Friedrich Münch. He

³ This is the opinion of Karl Braun, *Westermanns Monatshefte*, 1873, pp. 479-489, and of Friedrich Münch: *Aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit*, Neustadt an der Hardt, 1873, and St. Louis,² 1902, 95-97.

does not know that Münch depends not only upon his recollection of his student years at Giessen, upon his acquaintance with the family Follen, through the marriage of his sister with Paul Follen, the younger brother of Karl, but largely upon the Memoir of Mrs. Eliza Cabot Follen. This was pointed out by Hermann Baumgarten, in his *Treitschke's Deutsche Geschichte*, Strassburg, 1883, pp. 19f. But Baumgarten did not know that much of Mrs. Follen's sketch of her husband's life in Germany rests directly upon Wesselhoeft's *Teutsche Jugend* and upon oral statements made directly to the widow by Wesselhoeft in Cambridge, Mass. Münch seems to have been ignorant of this dependence. He does not even mention the title of Wesselhoeft's *Teutsche Jugend*. Von Treitschke is certainly here guilty of a very uncritical use of a printed source. Furthermore, Münch mentions, as does Wesselhoeft, his real source, those noble, lovable, and admirable traits of Karl Follen's character that cemented the friendship between him and Americans like William Ellery Channing and John Greenleaf Whittier. Von Treitschke omits all mention of these traits and calls him "einen Fanatiker des harten Verstandes, im Grunde einen unfruchtbaren Kopf, einen Jakobiner schlechtweg," a man whose doctrine was nihilism. "Follen aber hing seinem Nihilismus einen christlichen Mantel um." Wesselhoeft's little book *Teutsche Jugend u.s.w.* (von Treitschke calls it: *Deutschlands Jugend*), which presents the most carefully balanced picture of the light and of the dark sides of Karl Follen's character that we possess, von Treitschke calls: "nichts weiter als eine gewandte unaufrichtige Advokatenschrift," the best possible proof that he had never studied it critically, if he had ever had it in his hands.

When Münch writes (2. ed. p. 60): "Zu den trefflichsten jungen Männern jener Zeit gehörten die Brüder Wesselhoeft in Jena . . . Sie stimmten mit Follen in seinen Freiheitsbestrebungen überein, keineswegs aber in seinen Vorstellungen von der unbedingten Verpflichtung," von Treitschke paraphrases his source thus (p. 440): "Nach und nach fanden die revolutionären Lehren der Schwarzen (*i. e.*, of the *Giessner Schwarzen* under Karl Follen) Eingang an der Saale, namentlich durch die Vermittlung Robert Wesselhoefts, eines derben, kräftigen Thüringers."

Besides Münch, von Treitschke uses Heinrich Leo's *Aus meiner Jugendzeit* freely though not accurately in his description of Karl

Follen. When Münch speaks of only three followers in Jena of Follen's principle of *Unbedingtheit* and Leo speaks of a *Kreis* of such followers, he employs Leo; Leo thinks that Sand was not even a member of the inner circle about Follen and is positive that he was not commissioned by Follen for the murder. Here von Treitschke employs Münch, who by an implausible psychological deduction ascribes Sand's deed to Follen. Again Leo tells (p. 180) of a plan of the Unconditionals to call a secret session in Jena in 1818 to test the courage of the members by proposing in that session the assassination of the Czar of Russia, who was generally supposed to be in Weimar. For Karl Follen knew, he adds, that the Czar had already left Weimar. Von Treitschke adds spice to his story by revising Leo's words so that they read (p. 441): "Und man behauptete nachträglich, dass die Führer der Schwarzen dies (the departure of the Czar from Weimar) gewusst hätten." Neither Leo nor Münch nor any other source, known to me, is responsible for this statement. Such a use of sources may support almost any bias of an historian. The bias of von Treitschke is at this point his desire to represent the dangerous doctrine of *Unbedingtheit* as so dominant among the *Altdeutschen* in Jena as to justify the repressive measures urged by Gentz, Kamptz, and Metternich against the press, the universities, and especially against the Burschenschaft; but when Metternich's policy of suppression appears on closer inspection to have been an adroitly used means of exciting such a distrust of Prussia among the people, as to delay indefinitely any union of the German States under the leadership of Prussia, von Treitschke, a defender of everything Prussian, shifts ground and minimizes the numbers and influence of the *Unbedingten*.

I have tried to show that von Treitschke's treatment of the German Turner and Burschenschafter in the second volume of his *Deutsche Geschichte* suffers seriously from the following defects: (1) from his antipathy to everything *Altdeutsch* and to what has been sneered at as *Deuschtümeln*; (2) from his desire constantly to emphasize the small-state vagaries of judgment and action that to his mind had delayed the federalization of the German states under Prussian direction; (3) from his wish to make the Turner and Burschenschafter share largely in the responsibility of liberal Germany for precipitating the Reaction in Germany; (4) from his love of the military state and dislike of parliamentary government;

(5) from his blindness to the beauty and vast worth of the Burschenschaft as the embodiment of a much needed reform of student conduct; (6) from his false claim that the Burschenschafter aimed at unification through obliteration of state individuality; (7) from his careless, unfair, and occasionally dishonest use of sources to suit his impressionistic purpose as an historian.

A DIALOGUE—POSSIBLY BY HENRY FIELDING

By HELEN SARD HUGHES
Wellesley College

John Watts, printer and bookseller, with a printing-office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, brought out in the years 1729-31 a work in six volumes entitled, *The Musical Miscellany; Being a Collection of Choice Songs, Set to the Violin and Flute, By the most Eminent Masters*.¹ This collection contained examples of the songs popular on the stage, in the gardens and other places of amusement, and doubtless in polite drawing-rooms as well.² There are conventional pastoral lyrics, love-songs of a decadent Jacobean type, a few English ballads, old and new, and a surprising number of the songs and ballads of Scotland but lately published in London by Allan Ramsey. There were, moreover, many songs from popular operas and plays of the day. In volume VI appears a song in dialogue form, then much in vogue; it is not of distinctive literary value, though written with facility and with adroitness of satire. The song's significance lies in the name of its author, in the possibility that it represents another early effort in verse of Henry Fielding. The song is as follows:

A DIALOGUE between a BEAU'S HEAD and his HEELS, taken from their Mouths as they were spoke at St. James's Coffee-House.

By MR. FIELDING

To the Tune of, *Dear Catholick Brother*.

Head

Come, take up your Burthen, ye Dogs, and away,
I intend to walk up Constitution to Day.

Heels

Your Legs, Sir, are now in such slender Repair,
We beg that your Honor wou'd go in a Chair.
Fa, la, la, la, etc.

¹ This is the title of volume I (1729); the subtitle varied in later volumes. In volume VI, with which this article is concerned, the title read: *The Musical Miscellany; Being a Collection of Choice Songs, and Lyrick Poems: With the Bases to each Tune, and Transpos'd for the Flute. By the most Eminent Masters*.

² Vide the arraignment of the "Profaneness and Immorality" of the songs taught to "Young Gentlewomen" by singing-masters, in Bedford's *The Great Abuse of Musio*, London, 1711.

Ye indolent Dogs! do you dare to refuse
So little a Walk, in a new Pair of Shoes?
My Legs too, methinks, might have gratefully gone,
Since a new Pair of Calves I this Morning put on.
Fa, la, la, la, etc.

Do you call us ungrateful? the Favours you prize,
Were design'd not to gratify us, but your Eyes;
Is the Footman oblig'd to his Lordship, or Grace,
Who, to feed his own Pride, has equipp'd him with Lace?

We think we have very good Cause to complain,
That you thus are exalted without any Brain;
As our Merits are equal, we justly may plead
A Title sometimes to walk on our Head.

Fa, la, la, la, etc.

Very fine! at this rate all the Beaus in the Town
Wou'd fairly, like Tumblers, be turn'd up-side down;
But when I'm dissected, to shew you my Brains,
May all the World cry—He's a Fool for his Pains!
Fa, la, la, la, etc.

But if I may argue; Pray, Sir, who takes Snuff,
Why Ogles, who Smiles? I think Title enough;
Can you Sing, can you Laugh, can you Speak, can you See?
Or what can you do, silly Dogs, without me!
Fa, la, la, la, etc.

And to shew you how much your Ambition's my Scoff,
When next you rebel, I'll e'en shake you off;
Tho' I stand not without you, I'm sure I can sit,
In Parliament too, tho' bereft of my Feet.
Fa, la, la, la, etc.

Do you twit us with that? You have Reason, we hear:
We danc'd with the Wives, or you had not got there.
But to dash you at once, let us tell you, 'tis said
That some have sat there without any Head.
Fa, la, la, la, etc.

Head

Gad's Curse! and that's true; so a Word in your Ear:
To oblige you for once,—Here, Boy, call a Chair.
Let us henceforth together, like wise Men agree,
I'll strive to set you off, you shall set off me.

In the first Place, I'll sit very light on your Shoulder;
For, Nature revers'd, I grow lighter as older:
When you dance a Minuet, I'll smile my best;
And do you cut a Caper, when I cut a Jest.
Fa, la, la, la, etc.

[*The Musical Miscellany; Being a Collection of Choice Songs, and Lyric Poems, etc.* (London: John Watts, 1729-31. 6 vols.) Vol. VI (1731) pp. 170-73.]

We note at once that John Watts, the publisher of the *Musical Miscellany*, was also the publisher of many of the plays of Henry Fielding, who, recently returned from Leyden, was at this time rising in reputation as a writer of comedies chiefly concerned with the satire and burlesque of contemporary manners. He cannot, however, be positively identified with the "Mr. Fielding" of the *Dialogue*, since there flourished at the same time one Timothy Fielding, who has more than once caused confusion for the biographers of Henry Fielding.

Timothy Fielding, according to Professor W. L. Cross, was a third-rate comedian at Drury Lane "who with a company of cheap actors used to amuse the town at the George Inn in Smithfield during the time of the Bartholomew Fair. This Timothy Fielding, who had a booth at Tottenham Court also, died on August 22, 1738, at his house, the Buffalo Head Tavern in Bloomsbury."³

Information about this man comes chiefly from advertisements of his entertainments. In 1730 he was giving a farce, *The Comical Humours of Noodle and his Man Doodle*.⁴ In 1732 there appeared in the *London Evening Post* and the *Daily Post* the following series of notices of his entertainment at Bartholomew Fair that year:

"We hear that Mr. Fielding from the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane and Mr. Hippisley from the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, are making great preparations, and have engaged several

³ Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, (New Haven, 1918) III, 233.

⁴ Fielding, *The Tragedy of Tragedies*, ed. Hillhouse, (New Haven, 1918) p. 155.

of the best Hands from both Houses, in order to entertain the Town after the best Manner at their usual Booth in the great Yard of the George Inn in Smithfield."—*London Evening Post*, July 11-13, 1732.

"Yesterday Mr. Fielding (who has erected a large Theatrical Booth against Bartholomew Fair, in the George Inn-yard in West Smithfield) rehears'd a new Dramatic Piece, call'd, The Envious Statesman; or The Fall of Essex: With an excellent Operatical Entertainment call'd The Fore'd Physician, which was perform'd with the utmost Applause and Satisfaction, and we hear, there will be another Rehearsal on Monday next at Ten o'Clock."—*London Evening Post*, August 15-17, 1732.

Daily Post, July 12, 1732: the same as the *London Evening Post* for July 11-13, 1732.

"We hear that the following Comedians, (viz.) Mr. Bullock, Mr. Miller, Mr. Mills, Mr. Cates, and Mr. Fielding began yesterday to raise their Booths in West Smithfield, and are making great preparations to entertain the Town as usual, during the time of St. Bartholomew Fair."—*Daily Post*, August 11, 1732.

Daily Post, August 17, 1732: the same as the *London Evening Post*, for August 15-17, 1732.

"The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor will proclaim Bartholomew-Fair To-morrow morning; and Mr. Fielding yesterday rehearsed his diverting new Tragi-Comic Opera to a numerous Audience who express'd the utmost Satisfaction at the Performance, and he is resolv'd to begin immediately after the Fair is proclaim'd."—*Daily Post*, August 22, 1732.

The *Daily Post* of August 23, 1732, foretells an event, described the following day, when a "Set of Gentlemen and Tradesmen of Bloomsbury (neighbors of Mr. Fielding)" proceeded in "a great Number of Coaches" to witness the performance with which they were "extreamly well pleased." The same paper for August 26 and 27, 1732, announces a performance for the entertainment of the Blue-Coat Boys of Christ's Hospital. The notice of August 30 states that the Prince and Princess attended an exhibition "and were so well pleased as to stay to see it twice performed."⁵

⁵ For all of these excerpts from London papers I am indebted to Professor Wilbur L. Cross.

It would appear from the tone of these paragraphs, and from the identical form of some of them in two papers of the same date, that they are advertisements and not news, in the modern sense; hence as evidence of the importance of Timothy Fielding they must be taken with reservations due to their probable origin.

Genest notices Timothy Fielding as acting minor rôles at Drury Lane in one play in 1729, and in four plays in 1731; but as Timothy's participation in the performance of Henry Fielding's *The Miser* in 1733 is omitted, Genest's information is not complete enough to be of value except as an indication of Timothy's obscurity. The British Museum Catalogue does not know Timothy Fielding; apparently he was not credited with the authorship of plays or of entertainments or of anything else so far as we can observe to-day.⁶

Though there is not evidence sufficient, perhaps, to establish a final conclusion, I believe the chances are stronger that the "Mr. Fielding" who wrote the *Dialogue* published by Watts was Henry Fielding the author, than that he was Timothy the comedian. My reasons are these:

Though in the year 1732 Timothy Fielding seems to be making a stir as a theatrical producer in Smithfield and Bloomsbury, yet our chief evidence of this is newspaper "publicity" which, I presume, in his time as in ours was bought and paid for, and was not a real indication of reputation. I believe that—newspaper "publicity" aside—he was not at all prominent, and his name was very little known. Henry Fielding, on the other hand, was already a man of some success as a writer, and was, moreover, a man of polite social connections.

Volume VI of the *Musical Miscellany* appeared in 1731. During the preparation of this volume its publisher, John Watts, assuredly had Henry Fielding in mind. For, it should be noted, Watts had been publishing plays by Fielding as follows: *Love in Several Masques* (1728); *The Temple Beau* (1730); *The Coffee-House Politician* (1730). The last named Watts published under this

⁶ The only other notice of him I have found is the following: "Other amusement-providers might have been introduced into the picture [Hogarth's "Southwark Fair"] had there been room, such as Timothy Fielding, the actor (often confused with Henry Fielding the author), who had a booth at the Fair."—Wheatley, *Hogarth's London*, (New York, 1909) p. 433.

title as late as December 17, 1730.⁷ Moreover, the fact that these plays were fresh in Watts's mind is attested by his inclusion in the volume of one song from each of the three comedies. The songs were identified, as was the case with other songs from operas and plays, by the name of the comedy alone; only in the case of separate songs did Watts append the name of the author, as he did to the *Dialogue* in question.

Not only are we assured that Henry Fielding was in the publisher's mind on account of Watts's interest in the plays, but we know also that the dramatist was designated by his publisher at this time as "Mr. Fielding." The title-page of each of the three comedies by Henry Fielding which Watts had published reads, "Written By Mr. Fielding." Late in 1730 Watts called Henry Fielding by that name; and he seems to have had no thought of confusion of identity.

There is still another argument which may be very tentatively advanced. Before 1732 Fielding's plays appeared either with the name of the author as "Mr. Fielding," or with the pseudonym "Scriblerus Secundus." They had been performed at Goodman's Field, the Haymarket, or Lincoln's-Inn Fields, except the early play, *Love in Several Masques* (1728), performed at Drury Lane. In 1732 his plays once more appeared at Drury Lane. And at Drury Lane Timothy Fielding was now an actor; hence for the first time he could cause serious confusion for the playwright. Such a contingency might explain the appearance of *The Modern Husband* (acted Feb. 21, 1732 at Drury Lane, and published by Watts) with the fuller statement appearing for the first time on a title-page, "Written by Henry Fielding, Esq." Thereafter plays by Fielding bore either his full name on the title-page or no name at all. I suggest, then, that it was not until 1732, when Fielding's plays began to appear at the theatre in which Timothy was an actor, that Watts realized the possibility of ambiguity and therefore changed the form of the author's name on succeeding title-pages from "Mr. Fielding" to "Henry Fielding, Esq."

⁷ It is possible that the sixth volume of the *Musical Miscellany; being a Collection of Choice Songs, and Lyrick Poems: with the Bases to each Tune, etc.*, came out within a month of the publication of this play, if it was the inspiration of an article in the *Universal Spectator*, No. 121, Jan. 30, 1731, quoted by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, I (1731) 15, which recommended "*A Collection of Lyric Poems and Songs, with Musick Annex'd lately published.*"

Thus the relations existing between Henry Fielding and John Watts in 1730-31, together with the comparative obscurity of Timothy Fielding, lead me to believe that when Watts published volume VI of the *Musical Miscellany* in 1731 (prepared, presumably, in 1730) "Mr. Fielding" signified to the publisher not the actor, but Henry Fielding, a writer by profession; hence the *Dialogue* was almost certainly the work of the dramatist whose plays Watts had been publishing and would appear to be a minor addition to the Fielding canon.

LA FONTAINE'S IMITATION

By COLBERT SEARLES

University of Minnesota

For a number of years La Fontaine wrote with characteristic complacency upon subjects for which he had no great talent and probably but little taste. But during this long apprenticeship he was drawn and held more and more firmly to his proper orbit by his own instinct and by the doctrines which dominated the literary movement of the time, whose most frequent watchword and precept was the "imitation of Nature." The comedy of Terence attracted him, as he says in a preface, because "its subject is simple, *as our masters prescribe that it should be*; it is not crowded with useless and detached incidents . . . as a supreme merit, all the characters are true to nature."¹ La Fontaine sought to imitate these qualities of composition and style while preserving his originality and individuality. In the preface to the *Psyché*, on whose composition he lingered long, he asserted: "The way of telling it is mine and so are the details and what the characters say. Almost all the inventions, I mean the principal ones and the best, come from Apuleius."² But even so, as he goes on to say: "I have changed a great many of them in accordance with the liberty which I *ordinarily allow myself*." This interest in "the way of telling" things developed steadily. If one were to accept literally the introductory verses of the *Matrone d'Ephèse*, this tale would be little more than an *étude* in the technique of composition:

S'il est un conte usé, commun, et rebattu,
C'est celui qu'en ces vers j'accommode à ma guise:
Et pourquoi donc le choisis-tu?
Qui t'engage à cette entreprise?
N'a-t-elle point déjà produit assez d'écrits?
Sans répondre aux censeurs, car c'est chose infinie
Voyons si dans mes vers je l'aurai rajeunie.³

All the material which he took from his sources, whether Greek,

¹ L'Eunuque, Avertissement au Lecteur, *Œuvres* de Jean de la Fontaine (Grands Écrivains). vol. 7, p. 7.

² *Œuvres*, vol. 8, p. 21.

³ *Œuvres*, vol. 6, p. 67.

Latin, Oriental or French, was treated in precisely the same way :

Je ne prends que l'idée, et les tours et les lois,
 Que nos maîtres suivaient eux-mêmes autrefois;
 Si d'ailleurs quelque endroit plein chez d'eux d'excellence
 Peut entrer dans mes vers sans nulle violence,
 Je l'y transporte, et veux qu'il n'ait rien d'affecté,
 Tâchant de rendre mien cet air d'antiquité.⁴

That is to say, La Fontaine, like the other great classic poets of France, appropriated, rather than imitated, the works of his predecessors, ancient and modern. The point of view was perfectly simple and logical. Since poetry, by consecrated definition, is an "imitation of life," the longevity of the works which the ancients created is clear proof of the fidelity with which they imitated, *i. e.*, portrayed life. It is convenient to use the material which they gathered in so far as it may be applicable to modern conditions. It is the modern poet's business to bring the imitation up to date; his "invention," or, as we should say, his originality, consists in making this "air of antiquity" his own and that of the age in which he lives. Thereby he becomes as much a creator as those from whom he takes his raw material, because he is actuated by the same purpose and wrestles with the same problem: to give the most perfect imitation possible of the life he sees and leads.

An interesting and characteristic example of this "rejuvenation" of ancient subject matter is offered by the fable of the Nightingale and the Kite. In Aesop, the nightingale, having fallen into the clutches of the kite pleads for its life. As a last resort it appeals to the gluttony of the bird of prey, urging him to seek a victim better proportioned to the exigencies of his appetite. To make the fable teach the lesson that one should be satisfied with what he has, Aesop's kite is made to reply: "I should be a fool if I let go the dinner which I have in hand, in order to go in pursuit of a prey which is not even in sight." Between this and a modern version, there must be taken into account centuries of evolution in sentiment, which have made of the nightingale a symbol of that which is poetic and beautiful, and of the kite and his like, a symbol of that which is cruel and voracious. La Fontaine

⁴ Epître à Monseigneur l'Evêque de Soissons, en lui donnant un Quintilien de la Traduction d'Horatio Toscanella. *Œuvres*, vol. 9, p. 202.

makes his fable a protest against sordid materialism. His nightingale offers to earn its release by singing the famous story of Tereus. The kite's interest fades as soon as he learns that it is not a question of some new kind of food—parvenu taste versus grand opera. Thereupon the nightingale proposes to sing for him a simple song, more in keeping with his intelligence and his tastes. The kite replies with financierish asperity that when he is hungry it is no time to talk of music. The nightingale, wounded in his artistic pride, cannot refrain from answering that kings have not disdained to listen to him. But this appeal to a more civilized feeling has no effect on one who has no other rule than that of force and brutish instinct:

Quand un roi te prendra
Tu peux lui conter ces merveilles.
Pour un milan il s'en rira:
Ventre affamé n'a pas d'oreilles.⁵

However, such a transformation of the moral teaching or preachment offered by a fable was generally unnecessary because the moral truths which earlier fabulists wished to convey were, as a rule, so universally acceptable as to be practically axiomatic. But the ancients laid great stress upon this moral; it was for them the "soul" of the fable. La Fontaine accepted this traditional point of view with the single but important reservation that this moral did not need to be "moral" at all, in the ethical sense of the word. It need only be true to life as it is: The reason of the stronger prevails;⁶ it is wiser to bow before the storm than stand up against it;⁷ it is safer to side with the party in power,⁸ etc. The conception and consideration of this philosophical element or moral lesson to be presented by, or deduced from, a given fable subject was almost certainly the first stage in the composition of one of these little poems. This is illustrated in genial fashion by his reply to the young Duc de Bourgogne, who had asked him for a fable on the cat and the mouse. The poet did not write the fable, but contented himself with outlining the possibilities of the subject:

⁵ Liv. IX, XVIII, *Œuvres*, vol. 2, p. 449. For traces of the evolution of this sentiment in other fabulists who had treated the same subject see the notes of the Grands Écrivains edition.

⁶ Le Loup et l'Agneau, I, X, *Œuvres*, vol. 1, p. 88.

⁷ Le Chêne et le Roseau, I, XXII, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 124.

⁸ La Chauve-Souris et les deux Belettes, II, V, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 141.

Dois-je représenter dans ces vers une belle
 Qui douce en apparence, et toutefois cruelle,
 Va se jouant des cœurs que ses charmes ont pris
 Comme le Chat la Souris?

Prendrai-je *pour sujet* les jeux de la Fortune?
 Rien ne lui convient mieux: et c'est chose commune
 Que de lui voir traiter ceux qu'on croit ses amis
 Comme le Chat la Souris?

Introduirai-je un Roi qu'entre ses favoris
 Elle respecte seul, Roi qui fixe sa roue,
 Qui n'est point empêché d'un monde d'ennemis,
 Et qui des puissants, quand il lui plaît se joue
 Comme le Chat la Souris?

But La Fontaine, himself quite inamenable to good advice, could realize as well as any other that the world has long since emerged from that primitive stage in which wise counsel and judicious warnings are listened to with complacency and perhaps grateful interest. If one would "get across" this moral preachment, it must be done adroitly.¹⁰ Instead of flinging it at his reader, after the fashion of the ancients, in the form of a proposition to be proved, or as a thing demonstrated by the story which has been related, he sought to present it with all the possible degrees of directness and indirectness: now at the beginning, now at the end, sometimes at both beginning and end, sometimes in the middle, sometimes suppressed altogether, or at least left to the perspicacity of his reader. In short, the moral, the "soul" of his fable, must present itself in much the same fashion that the soul of an individual ordinarily presents itself: now bursting from, now imprisoned in, its sensuous envelope; on the one hand, the physical body; on the other, the poetic narrative. In fables where brutal force prevails, as in *Le Loup et l'Agneau*, or *Les Animaux malades de la Peste*, two terse lines suffice; in *La Laitière et le Pot au Lait*, where a human foible is viewed with a sort of complacent irony, the moral represents a full third of the composition; in *La Mort et Le Mourant*, of deeper philosophical import, it is almost one-half the poem.

⁹ A Monsieur le Duc de Bourgogne, qui avoit demandé à M. de la Fontaine une Fable qui fût nommée le Chat et la Souris. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 211.

¹⁰ Une morale nue apporte de l'ennui. VI, I, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1.

With the question of the moral settled, the poet was free to turn his attention to the fashioning of the body which was to contain it. Now La Fontaine was of this world, very much of it in fact, and no one was more apt than he to realize that, without attractive bodies, the finest souls are not likely to attract very general or very curious attention. "I felt," he says in a preface, "that, since everybody knows these fables, I would have to renew them by adding touches which would enliven them. . . What people want nowadays is novelty and gayety: I do not call gayety that which provokes laughter, but a certain charm and agreeable air which may be given to all sorts of subjects, even the most serious."¹¹ In some of his earlier fables this did not call for any great effort of his inventive faculty. In the fable of the frog which wished to make itself as large as an ox, for example, he did no more than turn the narrative of his source (Phædrus) into vivacious dialogue. As his art progressed, his "rejuvenations" became more complete, his own contributions more characteristic, his technique more elaborate and subtle; although, convinced that

Loin d'épuiser une matière

On n'en doit prendre que la fleur,¹²

he was always careful not to overload his canvas. In general his source supplied him with the skeleton of his fable; his "invention," the flesh and blood and sinews and the impression of life which was to animate it. Perhaps as apt an illustration as any may be found in the fable of the man unhappily married. It is the story of a husband driven to seek a separation by the impossible temper of a vixenish wife, the whole being designed to illustrate the truth that marriage is at best a hazardous enterprise. This is, in part, what La Fontaine found in Aesop. "A man whose wife was detested by all the people of her house wanted to find out if she was equally odious to the slaves in the home from which she came. That is why, under a plausible pretext, the husband sent her back to the paternal domicile." A reading of the part of La Fontaine's fable which corresponds to the first sentence cited above, reveals clearly how the poet could transform a dry scenario of a little comedy into a "mirror held up to nature," by the accumulation

¹¹ Preface to the first collection of Fables, *Œuvres*, vol. 1, p. 14.

¹² Epilogue to the sixth book; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 77.

of those traits of character and details of conduct which arouse more or less intimate memories of observation or experience in the minds of every one:

Rien ne la contentait, rien n'était comme il faut;
 On se levait trop tôt, on se couchait trop tard
 Puis du blanc, puis du noir, puis encore autre chose.
 Les valets enrageaient, l'époux était à bout.
 Monsieur ne songe à rien, Monsieur dépense trop,
 Monsieur court, Monsieur se repose.
 Elle en dit tant que Monsieur à la fin
 Lassé d'entendre un tel butin,
 Vous la renvoie à la campagne
 Chez ses parents.

By a lucky chance, the first draft of one of La Fontaine's fables has been preserved. A comparison of this original sketch with the finished poem enables us to follow with relative surety the methods by which the poet appropriated the material which he found in his sources. To illustrate some point in his *Rhetorica*, Aristotle relates that Aesop was one day defending, before the assembly of the people, a demagogue accused of stealing funds belonging to the state. In making his plea, Aesop told the story of *The Fox, the Flies and the Hedgehog*.¹³ A fox, after crossing a stream, fell into a ditch, from which he could not get out and where he suffered for a long time. The gnats came in great numbers to prey upon him. Finally, a hedgehog which happened along saw him, and, being moved with compassion, offered to brush off the offending gnats. The fox rejected his offer, and when the hedgehog asked him why, he replied: "'Tis because these are already satiated with my blood and are now taking very little from me; whereas, if you brush them away, other famishing ones will come who will drink up what little blood I have left' . . . 'And you, Oh citizens of Samos,' continued Aesop, 'you have no longer to fear this demagogue, for he has become rich; but, if you put him to death, others will come who are poor and will steal the public funds and you will be ruined'."¹³ The story was current in La Fontaine's time. A collection of state papers published in 1651, contained the report of a "Harangue" delivered before the king in 1599, in which the speaker referred to this apologue of Aesop's in order to reinforce his contention that the people wished no change in government.

¹³ Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, book II, chap. XX.

They preferred to remain under the oppression of "the leeches (statesmen, officers of the crown, financiers) who were already satiated." The story was quite *à propos* in the poet's own time. An early commentator cited, in connection with this fable, the anecdote of a "rich financier" who had "fattened on the misfortunes of France." One day, at his country estate, he received an order from the king dismissing him from service. "I am sorry," said the financier, "for, having fixed up my own affairs, I was ready to attend to those of the king."¹⁴

Here are the original and the final versions of La Fontaine's fable placed in parallel columns for greater convenience of comparison:

(Original)

Un renard, tombé dans la fange
Et des mouches presque mangé,

Trouvait Jupiter fort étrange
De souffrir qu' à ce point le sort
 l'eût outragé,

(Final)

Aux traces de son sang un vieux hôte
des bois,
Renard fin, subtil, et matois,
Blessé par des chasseurs et tombé
dans la fange,
Autrefois attira ce parasite ailé
Que nous avons mouche appelé.

Il accusait les dieux et trouvait fort
étrange
Que le sort à tel point le voulût
affliger,
Et le fit aux mouches manger.
Quoi! se jeter sur moi, sur moi, le
plus habile
De tous les hôtes des forêts!
Depuis quand les renards sont-ils un
si bon mets?
Et que me sert ma queue? Est-ce un
poids inutile?
Va, le ciel te confonde, animal im-
portun!
Que ne vis-tu sur le commun?

¹⁴ See notes, Grands Écrivains edition. The first draft of the fable is given in a note, vol. 3, p. 266.

(Common to both Versions)

Un hérisson du voisinage,
 Dans mes vers nouveau personnage,

Voulut le délivrer de l'importun es-
 saim.

Voulut le délivrer de l'importunité
 Du peuple plein d'avidité:
 Je les vais de mes dards enfler par
 centaines,
 Voisin renard, dit-il, et terminer tes
 peines.

Le renard aime mieux les garder et
 fut sage.

Vois-tu pas, dit-il, que la faim
 Va rendre une autre troupe encore
 plus importune?
 Celle-ci, déjà soûle, aura moins
 d'âpreté.

Garde-t'en bien, dit l'autre; ami, ne
 le fais pas:

Laisse-les, je te prie, achever leur
 repas.

Ces animaux sont soûls; une troupe
 nouvelle

Viendrait fondre sur moi, plus âpre
 et plus cruelle.

Trouver à cette fable une moralité
 Me semble chose assez commune:
 On peut sans grand effort d'esprit
 En appliquer l'exemple aux hommes:
 Que de mouches voit-on, dans le siècle
 où nous sommes?

Cette fable est d'Esop, Aristote le
 dit.

Nous ne trouvons que trop de man-
 geurs ici-bas:

Ceux-ci sont courtisans, ceux-là sont
 magistrats.

Aristote appliquait cet apologue aux
 hommes.

Les exemples en sont communs,
 Surtout au pays où nous sommes
 Plus telles gens sont pleins, moins ils
 sont importuns.

It will be noted at once that only two verses of the preliminary sketch reappear intact in the finished form. These verses, in themselves, quite prosaic and inconsequential, are perhaps not without importance from the standpoint of the composition as a whole. They are pivotal; they fix the proportions; they form what might be called the waist-line of the fable. As for the many modifications brought into the rest of the fable, it is evident, when one analyzes them, that the poet produced at least a large number by working backward from the moral. This moral, in its first draft, is singularly naive and familiar in tone. The poet, meditating upon it, saw that the fifth verse contained the idea which was to enable him to "rejuvenate" the material which he had taken from "antiquity." The *mouches* of his time are the "courtiers and magistrates"; he develops therefore this thought, retaining in addition only the

reference to Aristotle, either as a bit of ironical pedantry, or perhaps as a mask to attenuate the boldness of his satire. The moral, thus developed, served as a sort of lever to raise the tone of the narrative upon which it was based and clearly suggested some added details. The expansion of the first verse of the original draft into the three of the finished form is not due merely to the artist's desire to paint a more perfect picture. The traces of the fox's blood, a detail not found in the source, not only prepares the reader's imagination for the swarm of flies which it attracts, but it foreshadows in a very suggestive way the "eaters" of the first verse in the moral. It serves, besides, to emphasize the tragic predicament of the hero of the story, while the epithets applied to him elevate his character and transform him into a personage fit to symbolize, if not the ruler of a state, at least the director of its finances. The same consideration suggested to the poet the application to the fly of the rather unusual epithet: *ce parasite ailé*. The soliloquy of the fox, in place of the very succinct statement of the first draft, is in line with La Fontaine's vision of making his work "an ample comedy in a hundred different acts." But while the general tone of it is suggested by the scenario of the composition, the reference to the common people at the end is quite evidently a touch added to bring it into consonance with the political and social satire, which is to animate the moral at the end.

With the introduction of a new character and a third recalling of the idea contained in the moral through the expansion of the phrase *l'importun essaim* into *l'importunité du peuple plein d'avidité*, the curtain rises on the second and last act of the little comedy. The retouching of the rôle played by the hedgehog is characteristic of the way in which the art of the poet responded to the philosophical consideration of his subject matter, from the standpoint of the lesson which it was to convey. In the first draft, the hedgehog's intervention is narrated even more baldly than it had been in the poet's source. In the final version he becomes a very living and modern character. It is no longer for him merely a question of "delivering" a suffering "neighbor," because he "is moved by compassion"; his zeal goes much farther; he proposes to "spear by hundreds" these voracious parasites, without pausing to reflect that this "deliverance" might well prove more painful than the condition he was eager to alleviate. The poet's tactful

art has elevated him, as the dominating idea of his poem demanded, to the type of the reformer, fertile in easy remedies, whose good intentions far outrun his intelligence.

The attitude of the fox is retouched in similar fashion but with more subtlety. He is more "sage" in the final version than in the original draft. This supreme experience with life has taught him to accept with the same forbearance the imbecility of his well-wishers and the selfish malignity of those who prey upon him. He rejects the well meant offer with philosophic bonhomie: *garde-t'en bien, ami*, and abandons the mildly impatient appeal of the first draft to the hedgehog's perspicacity: *(ne) vois-tu pas?*, because he realizes full well that such an appeal would be useless. Confronted with the only remedy possible under the circumstances and perceiving that it could only lead to greater ills, he has learned his lesson, that, where there is no remedy, it is better not to seek one; that one must take life as it is; and that, in certain conjunctures at least, such is life. In recasting the last two lines in order to set off in sharper contrast the tolerant fortitude of the fox and the implacable greed of the "winged parasites," the poet provides a more telling climax for his story and a transition to the thought contained in the moral which is to follow.

This fable does not rank among the masterpieces of La Fontaine; but a comparison between any of his more carefully composed works and their source, indicates very clearly that they were all created by methods similar to those which resulted in the evolution of this ancient apologue of Aesop. A scenario is thrown together on the basis of something found in a source, written, oral, or personal. A period of meditation, or, as the French are fond of saying, of incubation follows, out of which the dominant idea, or, as the ancients put it, the "soul" of the composition, emerges. All that the "invention" of the poet, utilizing his observation of life and his memory of books, can offer in the way of illuminating or expressive detail, is added; all that his judgement considers inconsequential or unnecessary, is brushed away.

It was not till the nineteenth century, when the study and cult of technique was at its height, that La Fontaine's virtuosity as a poet-artist was recognized and appreciated. Théodore de Banville, himself famous for his feats of metrical legerdemain, paid his respects in characteristic fashion: "A propos the poet of the

fables, the amiable word, 'naïveté,' slips unconsciously from the pen. It is very true that, by dint of art, he arrives at naïveté, and from that a thousand writers have concluded that La Fontaine was a naive man, producing his fables by the grace of God as a field produces poppies and daisies. You will not deceive in that way, alas, a professional writer of verse. . . . That intimate fusion of all the rhythms in which the vestment of the thought changes with the thought itself, harmonized by the amazing vigor of the movement in the verse, is the last word in the most skillful and complicated art, and the mere sight of such difficulties overcome, makes one's head swim."¹⁵ As this passage suggests, this complicated art is a concealed art; the impression one always gains from a reading of La Fontaine is one of ease and naturalness. There is no trace of labor, none of that tense striving for effects which so often makes itself felt in the work of modern virtuosos. How was this miracle accomplished?

One can divine, or rather feel, the answer, but it is difficult to put it in any very tangible form. In fact, the poetic art for La Fontaine was as broad as life itself; it was what he lived for. With profound veneration for the ancients, for their "turns and their laws," for their craftsmanship in a word, he had little respect for the strict rules which had been, and were being deduced from a study and appreciation of their works. Rules beget artifice, and: "to confuse artifice with art is a crime in an author." That is not saying, of course, that he did not make abundant use of processes which are continually being described and labeled in the manuals of rhetorical and poetic art; so, for example, in the fable of "The Wolf and the Lamb." A hungry wolf comes upon a lamb who is quenching its thirst in the waters of a clear stream. The wolf calls out to him:

Qui te rend si hardi de troubler mon breuvage?

and the reader hears his snarl and, in the last word, feels as he pronounces it, the show of the animal's teeth. It is an example of the much used and much abused rhetorical device known as onomatopœia, but the verse is not written for the device; it is true to the nature of the beast and to the circumstances under which it is

¹⁵ Théodore de Banville, à la suite du *Petit Traité de Poésie Française* (Paris, 1891), p. 312.

attributed to the wolf. Then, take the reply of the lamb, where the same artifice is continued in much more difficult and complicated fashion. Like the helpless thing he is, the lamb must use many words to plead the cause he cannot defend. Any sustained imitation of the sound generally accredited to the lamb would be ridiculous. Hence, instead of imitating the sound, the poet chooses words which bring out the nibbling motion of the lips; as one sees, or rather feels, on reading the verses aloud:

Sire, répond l'Agneau, que Votre Majesté
 Ne se mette pas en colère;
 Mais plutôt qu'elle considère
 Que je me vas désaltérant
 Dans le courant,
 Plus de vingt pas au-dessous d'elle,
 Et que par conséquent, en aucune façon
 Je ne puis troubler sa boisson.

This imitation is kept up all through the dialogue with the same surety of touch and without the introduction of a word which does the least violence to the sense or is, in any way, contrary to what the two actors in the little tragedy would most naturally say under the circumstances.

Such effects indeed are not gained merely by the use of rhetorical artifices; it was the voice of nature which La Fontaine caught and transcribed, and to do that was his conception of the poet's rôle. Moreover, this must be taken in the widest possible sense; for he was convinced that

Tout parle dans l'univers;
 Il n'est rien qui n'ait pas son langage.¹⁶

There is a language, not merely of men and animals, but also one of things and actions. The language of things and actions consists in a certain order and progression which reveals itself to the sufficiently vigilant and patient observer. In the fable of "The Stagecoach and the Fly," a stagecoach drawn by six strong horses is toiling up a long steep hill:

Femmes, moines, vieillards, tout était descendu.

"Women, monks, old people"—that was the order in which seventeenth century passengers got out of the coach to walk up the hills when there was need for it.

¹⁶ Epilogue to the eleventh book. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 168.

L'attelage suait, soufflait, était rendu;

The team, as it struggles up the hill with its load, "sweats," then "pants" and, near the top, is "all in." The stag in another fable has taken refuge in a stable full of oxen. The farmhands and even the foreman do their "chores" without perceiving: "the tips of his horns, nor his antlers, nor, finally,—stag"; but if they *had* seen him, it would necessarily have been by just this series of visual impressions. The master comes to make his rounds and is dissatisfied with what he finds: "What's this," he says to his men, "I find little hay in these cribs; this bedding is old; hurry up to the loft. I want my stock better cared for. What trouble would it be to brush away these cobwebs? Can't you put these yokes and collars in their places?" In this series of carefully chosen and precisely arranged details, La Fontaine tried to follow the hidden logic which he felt permeating the universe. In detached details his realism is often characterized by the same sort of simple subtlety. It is said that Samson, one of the consummate elocutionists of the Comédie Française, used to confess that he had been reading in public for twenty years the well-known fable of "The Tortoise and the Hare" before he perceived all the significance of one of its details.¹⁷ The tortoise, having won the race, greets the hare, who is making a final desperate but too tardy effort to arrive first at the goal:

Eh bien, lui cria-t-elle, avais-je pas raison?

De quoi vous sert votre vitesse? etc.

"Why did the tortoise 'shout'?" the actor kept asking himself, until finally, by dint of calling up before his imagination the scene of the race, it dawned upon him that, in the joy of its victory, the tortoise would naturally make its boast as soon as the hare came in sight, and that it would be forced to "shout" to make itself heard.

A realism so complete and unfailing and, at the same time, so sober and carefully selective as that of La Fontaine could only come from the most entire absorption of the poet in his work. This absorption, which the poet nonchalantly characterized as "revery" or "indolence," amused, surprised, and sometimes irritated his contemporaries. According to an anecdote of the time, some people

¹⁷ Cited by De Broc, *La Fontaine, Moraliste* (Paris, 1896), p. 249.

who were curious to see and to listen to the conversation of the now famous poet, invited him to dinner. He did full justice to the dinner; but, as for conversation, not a word could they extract. The author of the anecdote voiced the discontent of hosts and guests: "He had gone, I know not where; perhaps he was breathing the breath of life into some frog of the marshes, a cricket of the fields, or a fox in his den; for all the time he remained with us he seemed to be nothing but a soulless machine. . . We bundled him into a carriage and said goodbye to him forever."¹⁸ La Bruyère, in his famous word-portrait, renders the impression which the poet made upon most of his contemporaries: "A man appears coarse, heavy and stupid; he cannot relate what he has just seen. But, let him begin to write, and he makes talk animals, trees and rocks, everything in short which does not talk; and his works are full of grace, naturalness and delicacy."

His contemporaries, however, but half guessed the secret of his abstractions, and one must not conclude with them that his mind was wholly taken up with his efforts to give life to a frog, a cricket or a fox. All those who knew him well, and who shared in his intimacy, agree that, when the conversation fell upon a congenial topic and in congenial fashion, he became as it were "transformed," and talked with eloquence and wisdom. It is clear to any student of his "Fables" that little in the life and thought of his contemporaries escaped him.

It is not always possible to determine whether a given fable subject leads him to the delineation of life or whether it was life that led him to choose in his sources a fable to be "rejuvenated" by the exercise of his poetic artistry. Undoubtedly, it was sometimes the one, sometimes the other consideration which prevailed. But in certain cases the latter alternative seems quite clearly established. When one reads, for example:

Je connais maint detteur qui n'est ni souris chauve,
Ni buisson, ni canard, ni dans tel cas tombé,
Mais simple grand seigneur, qui tous les jours se sauve
Par un escalier dérobé.¹⁹

it is quite evident that the spectacle of the lordly debtor played a very considerable part in the choice of the subject upon which he

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁹ Liv. XII, VII, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 224.

was to compose a fable. And this is equally true of many fables which deal with a philosophical idea or a personal sentiment; as, for example, in fables like *La Mort et le Mourant* or *Les deux Pigeons*.

The secret of the perfection of La Fontaine's art lies, to a very large extent, in the completeness with which he immersed himself, so to speak, in the subject which he was treating. The composition of a fable, even of the least pretentious, presented a many-sided problem. In its physical aspects it must be a faithful imitation of the life of the creatures represented; at the same time, it must accurately reflect the moral characteristics of the type of which the actors involved are the symbol: The lamb is not merely a lamb; he represents the oppressed, and the wolf which devours him in the depths of the forest, without recourse to legal formalities, is the portrait of the strong, who always make their reason prevail. Finally, the whole must be crowded into a little space, with just enough detail to make it real, and it must be clothed in verse which pulsates with the life it reflects. One can well believe the poet, when he remarks in one of his fables, "I forge verses only by taking time for it." Nearly thirty years was not too long a period to devote to the composition of the two hundred and forty fables which have made La Fontaine an immortal. To this long labor, serenely and affectionately performed, is due that complete absence of apparent moral struggle and intellectual torment which makes itself felt in the work of many great stylists of more modern times. No one better than La Fontaine exemplifies the truth contained in the French dictum: "Genius is only a long patience." But with him patience was not so much a virtue as a sense which paved the way into that realm of art in which he chose to live.

A NOTE ON HAMLET

By JOHN S. KENYON
Hiram College

Hamlet I. ii. 39: *Farewell, and let your haste commend your duty.*

I have not seen a satisfactory explanation of this passage. Rolfe's paraphrase, "Dispatch the business with commendable promptness," not only exemplifies a too common method of taking the mind entirely away from Shakespeare's specific way of conceiving and conveying a situation or an idea, but fails, I believe, to give the true meaning of the line.

The commonest meanings of *commend* in Shakespeare, as elsewhere, are:—

- (1) "To entrust to, commit to;" as in *All's Well* V. i. 31:

Commend the paper to his gracious hand.

- (2) "To present, or direct attention to, as worthy of regard;" as in *Cymb.* I. iv. 32:

... this gentleman, whom I commend to you as a noble friend of mine.

- (3) "To recommend to kindly remembrance;" as in *Rich. III.* III. ii. 8:

First, he commends him to your noble self.

- (4) "To praise, extol;" as in *As You Like It* II. ii. 12:

Your daughter and her cousin much commend
The parts and graces of the wrestler.

It is easy to see how the other meanings could grow out of sense (1), which appears to be the earliest in English; that (2) and (3) are closely similar; and that (4) grows out of them. The circumstances under which (4) could grow out of (2) and (3) are well seen in *Merch. of Ven.* IV. i. 143ff:¹

This letter from Bellario doth commend
A young and learned doctor to our court.

.....

[From the letter] ... bett' red with his own learning,
the greatness whereof I cannot enough commend.

¹ It is not meant to imply that the transition of meaning took place in Shakespeare's time. It is a principle of language sometimes overlooked, that circumstances which give rise to transition meanings of words may continue to recur indefinitely after the transition meaning first appears in those circumstances.

Shakespeare's characters are fond of playing on these two closely related meanings: *All's Well* II. ii. 68:

Countess. Commend me to my kinsman and my son.

This is not much.

Clown. Not much commendation to them.

2 Henry IV, II. ii. 136:

I commend me to thee, I commend thee, and I leave thee.

Hamlet V. ii. 189:

Osric. I commend my duty to your lordship.

Hamlet. . . . He does well to commend it himself;
there are no tongues else for's turn.

One of the stereotyped uses of sense (2) is found in the expression of an obligation of an inferior to a superior, as in the last example. Such expressions have various forms, with or without *commend*; as in *Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. i. 12:

So please your lordship to accept our duty.

Hamlet I. ii. 253:

Our duty to your honor.

Henry V, IV. vi. 23:

Commend my service to my sovereign.

Two Gent. of Verona I. iii. 42:

To salute the emperor,
And to commend their service to his will.

Wint. Tale II. ii. 36:

Commend my best obedience to the queen.

Two Gent. of Verona IV. ii. 9:

When to her beauty I commend my vows.

There is a playful extension of this formula in *As You Like* IV. iii. 183:

I pray you, commend my counterfeiting to him.²

It is inevitable that occasions should repeatedly arise when there would be reference to the expediency of hastening or omitting the use of this formula by servants, or others politely assuming the rôle of inferiors. These occur in Shakespeare:

Twelfth Night V. i. 318:

[Malvolio to Olivia] I leave my duty a little unthought
of and speak out of my injury.

² The Oxford Dictionary fails to treat this common Elizabethan formula, under either *commend* or *duty*.

Love's Labor's Lost IV. ii. 147:

Stay not thy compliment; I forgive thy duty. Adieu.

Here belongs our passage. In the light especially of the last example, the meaning of King Claudius' words will appear by emphasis on the word *haste*: "Farewell, and let your *haste* commend your duty." In other words, "Do not utter the usual formula, 'We commend our duty to your majesty,' but let your quick compliance with my command say it for you." As the king does not, of course, expect his words to be taken so literally as to exclude any reply, the ambassadors cleverly accede to his request, at the same time expressing their formal assurance:

In that and all things will we show our duty.

It is also possible, though not essential to the foregoing interpretation, that there is, in highly Shakespearean fashion, a simultaneous implication of the other sense of *commend*, as there is in V. ii. 189, quoted above, *i. e.*, "Let your evident haste praise your faithfulness, serve as a commendatory comment on it." That Elizabethan audiences were adept in following such quick shifts of meaning, or in catching both meanings at once, is abundantly shown in *Hamlet*, as well as in other plays of Shakespeare and of his contemporaries.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, edited by Frederick Morgan Padelford. 238 pp. (*University of Washington Publications, Language and Literature* v. 1) University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1920.

Professor Padelford has already laid the students of the history of English literature under obligation by the publication in *Anglia*, v. XXIX, pp. 273-338, of the manuscript poems of the Earl of Surrey, and in the same volume, pp. 256-270, has contributed an article on the relation between George Frederick Nott's edition of Surrey of 1815-1816 and the 1812 reprint of *Tottel's Miscellany* as preserved in a few imperfect copies saved from "Bensley's fire."

Many things since the time of Nott's edition have contributed to make a new edition of Surrey desirable. Sir Thomas Wyatt has undergone full and careful editing at the hands of A. K. Foxwell (University of London Press, 1914) whose *Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, issued by the same publisher in 1911, is also important. Much new information with reference to Surrey has come to light. The work of E. Bapst, *Deux Gentilshommes-Poètes de la Cour de Henry VIII*, Paris, 1891, upon which Professor Padelford's life of Surrey and all recent lives are in some measure based, is the most important. Professor Padelford disagrees with Bapst with reference to the spirit-breaking effect upon Surrey of the defeat of his troops at St. Etienne and shows that the letter of supposed reproof from the council, which refers to the delayed news of the death of Sir John Pollard, was by error dated December 11 instead of January 11, Surrey's letter of January 8 having recounted the death of Pollard and fully described the disastrous conflict of January 7. Surrey, therefore, did not neglect his reports. Professor Padelford also throws interesting light on the King's attitude towards Surrey by a closer interpretation of an undated letter from Paget to Surrey written in reply to Surrey's letter of March 16. Paget urges Surrey to continue in the military service after his demotion. His words seem clearly to reflect what was probably the King's opinion; namely, that though disposed to be generous to Surrey and no doubt admiring his personal bravery and even believing in his future, Henry felt that Surrey as commander of the forces had mismanaged the business of the siege.

Our editor also lays new stress on circumstances which would account for the violent hatred displayed against him at his trial by the testimony of his sister, the Duchess of Richmond. Surrey, returning to England after the disappointments of his French campaign, found his politic father advancing a marriage between Thomas Seymour and the Duchess of Richmond. This Professor Padelford thinks Surrey, out of his enmity to the Seymours, must have blocked and thus deeply angered his sister and provided for his own destruction.

All through this biographical sketch it may be said that Professor Padel-

ford writes with the greatest spirit and shows a masterly handling of evidence. It may be doubted if the sketch gains anything by its tone of panegyric. If we must accept the editor's division of the life into the five acts of Greek tragedy, we can only complain that the second and third acts are tame compared to the fourth and fifth, which are concerned with Surrey's military career and with the fall of the Howards, and that the so-called comic interlude leaves much in the way of merriment to be desired. It is the episode in which Surrey is put into the Fleet for participation with a group of heedless companions in a riot in the street in which the windows of dwelling houses and churches were broken; nor can we agree that the satire on London as a false Babylon, though clever enough, is a masterpiece.

The results of Professor Padelford's invaluable work on the manuscript poems of Surrey are embodied in the textual notes. The inferiority of the text in *Tottel's Miscellany* of Surrey as well as of Wyatt was already apparent, and we have in this edition the first satisfactory text of Surrey's poems. They are rearranged, provided with new titles, correct punctuation, and many restorations of true readings. The critical notes are also important. The editor's own elucidations are extremely well done, and he had embodied the work of many scholars, particularly of E. Koepfel, *Studien zur Geschichte des Englischen Petrarchismus*, Romanische Forschungen 5. One is left with the impression that the foreign influences upon Surrey were, of course, mainly Italian; but one feels that there may be something not accounted for in line with Sir Sidney Lee's suggestions in *The French Renaissance in England*, pp. 109-126, that French influences may have counted for more than appears. It is probable at least that Italian influences operated mainly on French soil. One would expect to hear more of Alamanni and have more resemblances pointed out to Marot. He at least also translated the 47th Epigram of the 10th Book of Martial.

In the section of the introduction entitled *Surrey's Contributions to English Verse*, Professor Padelford is mainly concerned with Surrey's metrical advance over Wyatt. Surrey so composed his verse that, with a considerable number of exceptions, the metrical accent coincides with the word accent and the stress demanded by sense. In his comparison with Wyatt Professor Padelford makes the distinction between the two appear possibly more violent than it is. He admits, however, the sensitiveness of Wyatt's ear and points out that Wyatt is following the current tradition of English verse with its disregard of number of syllables in the line. In this connection attention might be invited to Professor J. M. Berdan's comparison of Wyatt and Surrey in *Early Tudor Poetry*, pp. 520 ff. Professor Berdan there connects Wyatt's practice with the mediæval Latin tradition.

With reference to the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid* in Surrey's translation, Professor Padelford is disposed to regard it as earlier than the fourth book, and, with reference to both books, to agree with Fest, O., "Ueber Surrey's Virgilübersetzung," *Palaestra*, 1903, and Immelmann, R., "Surrey's Aeneis IV in ursprünglicher Gestalt," *Jahrbuch d. deut. Sh-Ges.*, 1905, that dependence upon the Italian versions is immediate. The likenesses are indeed numerous, but are nowhere perhaps entirely convincing, and one would like

to see how many of them are coincidental and how many of them might be explained away by Professor Berdan's hypothesis (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 536 ff.) that they are due at least in part to the use of the same annotated editions of Virgil. In the fourth book Professor Padelford is able, through Miss Gladys V. Willcock's papers in *The Modern Language Review*, July, 1919, April, 1920, to give a table of variants from the long inaccessible edition published by Day probably in 1554, and to place that edition in the series. It has some value in Professor Padelford's mind, since, though mainly edited by others, it may contain a few of Surrey's earliest readings and even a few later revisions. The editor makes out what seems to be a satisfactory case for Ms. Hargrave 205 as the nearest approach to Surrey's actual translation.

H. C.

An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic, by Tenney Frank. xi + 310 pp. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 1920. \$2.50.

This admirable book is a study of the economic development of Rome. Though the end of the Republic is set as the *terminus ad quem* for the study, Professor Frank has allowed "the story of several chapters to run far into the second century of our era for the purpose of reaching the logical sequel of conditions originating in the Republic." It is to be hoped that the author may find it possible to carry out his original intention to continue the history through the Empire.

One of the outstanding features of the book is the thorough use which has been made of the available evidence. Archeological data have been made to furnish some of the most interesting conclusions. For example, Professor Frank infers from the intricate draining system in Latium that this region in the sixth century was cultivated with a remarkable intensiveness and supported a dense population, from which were recruited "the armies that overran the limits of Latium and overwhelmed all obstruction when once they were set in motion." Intensive cultivation resulted in exhaustion of the soil. The gradual exhaustion of the soil and the deforestation of the Volscian mountains led the dense population of Latium to seek relief in territorial expansion. As long as the Romans could avail themselves of good land they found little incentive to develop industries and to engage in commerce either on land or sea. Growth along these lines, therefore, was slow. The two chapters which the author has devoted to industry at the end of the Republic are exceptionally well done. The first contains an account of certain industries, such as the making of glass, bricks, and metal-ware; the second, an analysis of the economic structure of Pompeii, based on a detailed examination of a typical *insula*. Among other phases of the economic life of Rome that Professor Frank discusses are Roman coinage, the plantation system, public finances, capital, and labor.

A table of weights and measures and an index add to the usefulness of the volume. The book is characterized by a vigor of style and a directness of statement that make the reading of it a pleasure.

University of Iowa.

J. S. MAGNUSON

Francia: Histoire illustrée de la France, by Joseph Reinach (Polybe), Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1921.

La petite histoire de France que Mr. Joseph Reinach a pu achever avant de mourir, mérite d'être signalée aux étrangers comme aux Français. On y retrouve les qualités d'esprit et de coeur de ce bon citoyen qui fut un homme courageux et loyal. Il aimait passionnément la Justice, la République, la France; et dans ses enthousiasmes il sut garder la lucidité de son jugement et se préserver de la haine.

Possédant une vaste culture, il a embrassé son sujet d'une vue claire, et il en a dégagé les grandes lignes de la multitude innombrable et confuse des faits. Il a fait les sacrifices nécessaires, courant sur la Gaule celtique, la Gaule Romaine, le haut et le bas Moyen-Age, ralentissant l'allure au XVe siècle au moment où s'éveille dans le peuple, avec Jeanne d'Arc, le sentiment national, insistant sur la Renaissance, et sur le XVIIe et le XVIIIe siècles; mais réservant la meilleure partie du volume pour la Révolution, le XIXe siècle et le début du XXe: disant partout ce qui est nécessaire, n'omettant rien d'essentiel dans les périodes les plus sacrifiées, ne s'amusant à aucun détail inutile dans les parties les plus poussées. Par cette justesse de proportions et de choix, Mr. Reinach est arrivé à son but qui était de faire connaître le développement de la nation française, de son génie et de sa civilisation, en marquant aussi bien les caractéristiques de chaque époque, et les accidents de l'évolution que la permanence d'un certain fond et la continuité d'un certain progrès.

Dans ce tableau de nos gloires et de nos désastres, de nos luttes contre l'étranger, et de nos divisions intérieures, des orientations successives et contradictoires dans notre idéal et des révolutions souvent violentes dans notre organisation politique et sociale, on estimera la modération et l'impartialité de l'historien. Son ardent patriotisme ne l'aveugle pas sur nos fautes, et il n'est pas une nation ennemie dont il n'essaie loyalement de comprendre le point de vue, ou à laquelle il ne rende justice sur ses qualités. Ce qui est plus méritoire encore chez un homme de parti, mêlé pendant quarante ans à toutes nos agitations politiques, il parle avec sang froid et avec équité de ses adversaires. Non seulement il n'omet ni affaiblit aucun des services que l'ancienne monarchie a rendu à la France; mais il sait être juste envers le premier et le second Empire. Quant à l'époque contemporaine, on ne se douterait pas, à lire le récit de Mr. Joseph Reinach, qu'il a été constamment dans la mêlée, méconnu, entravé, insulté plus peut-être qu'aucun homme politique ne l'a été. Ni contre les gens de droite, ni contre les gens d'extrême gauche, ni contre Clémenceau, il n'a été tenté d'exercer des représailles. Un peu de chaleur—fort justifiée d'ailleurs—en parlant de Gambetta, voilà tout ce qui permet de deviner de quel côté de la barricade a été l'historien.

Dans ce livre intelligent, bien fait et profondément honnête, un étranger apprendra ce qu'il faut savoir de la France; il puisera les éléments d'un jugement éclairé sur notre nation, son rôle et ses aspirations. Surtout pour le demi-siècle écoulé depuis 1870, sur lequel il y a encore si peu de bons

travaux d'ensemble, l'ouvrage de Joseph Reinach lui fournira le tableau clair et complet de l'effort français.

GUSTAVE LANSON

University of Paris.

Poetic Origins and the Ballad, by Louise Pound. x + 247 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921. \$2.50.

For a generation, American scholars, with few exceptions, have looked upon the folk-ballad as a perfectly primitive literary form, as a song-poem arising out of the creative spirit of a dancing throng. Miss Louise Pound in *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* removes that theory from its foundations. Her preface phrases her chief contentions:

"The leading theses of the present volume are that the following assumptions which have long dominated our thought on the subject of poetic origins and the ballads should be given up, or at least should be seriously qualified; namely, the belief in the 'communal' authorship and ownership of primitive poetry; disbelief in the primitive artist; reference to the ballad as the earliest and most universal poetic form; belief in the origin of narrative songs in the dance, especially definition of the English and Scottish traditional ballad type as of dance origin; belief in the emergence of traditional ballads from the illiterate, that is, belief in the communal creation rather than *re*-creation of ballads; belief in the special powers of folk-improvisation; and belief that the making of traditional ballads is a 'closed account'."

The contentions are stated negatively because they attack an accepted theory. The book itself is the opposite of negative: in reviewing the case it does not hunt the old trails, but abounds in fresh evidence and constructive suggestion:

"There is a 'history of taste' for folk poetry just as for book poetry."

"The tendency in criticism has been to associate the ballads with older heroic poetry or romance, or with dance songs; but comparison will show that, in the texts earliest to appear, a closer comparison in lyrical quality and in the use of refrains and repetition is afforded by the religious lyrics."

The volume is chiefly made up of papers contributed by Professor Pound to scholarly journals. The divisions of its attack upon the accepted theory are clear from the chapter titles:

- I. The Beginnings of Poetry
- II. The Mediæval Ballad and the Dance
- III. Ballads and the Illiterate
- IV. The Ballad Style
- V. The English Ballads and the Church
- VI. Balladry in America

Miss Pound distinguishes ballad-emergence from ballad-genesis; she finds the individual poet's work among primitive peoples; she helps us to identify the process of ballad making in this decade. For now, as in times gone by, the poem is sung by men who care nothing for its maker: and in this year of grace "Roll a Rock Down" and "High-Chin Bob" by Knibbs and by

Badger Clark are gathered up as folk-ballads in the Southwest; and in a collection of Irish folk-songs "Down by the Salley Gardens" stands without the name of Yeats.

In this period of individualism the older theory that there was formerly a folk so homogeneous that its group power expressed itself spontaneously, coherently, and even artistically, seems to run counter to common sense. But the folk belong in that glorified land of "the former age;" they are strangers to the common light of day. Seen through a romantic haze, communal authorship wins credence. *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* is of large service to scholarship in fixing a clear light on the subject.

E. F. PIPER

University of Iowa

Early Tudor Poetry, 1485-1547, by John M. Berdan. xix + 546 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920. \$4.50.

Professor Berdan's work is composed of six monographs: the back-ground to the literature, the mediæval tradition, humanism, the influence of contemporary literature, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. It is at times hard to follow the writer's discrimination of parts. The difficulty seems to be that he turns his back on popular literature in favor of "formal" literature, thus causing the book to lack a perfectly rounded view of the period.

After Lydgate the author sees no uniform literary development, every poem being sporadic. Literature was engaged in adopting foreign models and in originating its own, and mediæval traditionary modes were changed. The Chaucer apocrypha illustrate the early stage. They are in rhyme royal, use the dream device, allegory, and personification. Then follows an interesting treatment of Hawes, important because of his popularity. He was an exponent of the theory of poetry held by Boccaccio, that poetry should hide and obscure the actual truth behind a veil of beauty. The interpretation of *The Example of Virtue* and *The Pastime of Pleasure* throws light on the allegorical methods of Spenser. Hawes added romance to mediæval allegory. *The Bouge of Courte* and *The Spider and the Fly* by Skelton are next considered. Skelton is the hero of Professor Berdan's book. It was Skelton's function to add personal satire to the traditional form.

One of the ideas which Professor Berdan develops most fully is that mediæval Latin literature and criticism exercised enormous influence on the vernacular poetry of the period. As a literature it was immensely varied, its prosody was accentual, and it had a highly developed poetics. John of Garlandia (1250) lists forty-four stanza forms; the *Exempla Honestæ Vitæ* discusses sixty-four rhetorical devices. English poets found in this poetics explanation of figures of speech with illustrative examples and, as Professor Berdan thinks, followed them. *Colores, color repetitio*, and other subspecies of ornamentation were consciously practiced, and "aureate" language arose from this source. Examples from Hawes and Smerte are cited; *The Owl and the Nightingale* is regarded as typical; confirmation is drawn from Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*. Even the English verse form known as Skeltonic (French

fratrasie) is to be derived from mediæval Latin. Professor Berdan sees progressive stages of Skeltonics in the *Polychronicon*, Trevisa's and Caxton's translations of it. In *Cock Lorell's Bote* he finds a mediæval Latin type. Interesting and genuinely important as this idea is, one feels that Professor Berdan carries it too far. With the great mass of popular literature omitted from consideration, how can one believe that mediæval Latin literature was so all powerful? Professor Berdan repeats the important work he has already published with reference to the dates of Skelton's poems, makes it clear that in Skelton the nation was finding a voice, and in general presents Skelton so well that one feels that he is the proper person to make the modern critical edition that he suggests.

The chapter on humanism takes up Alexander Barclay's crude pastoral eclogues; *The Ship of Fools*; Heywood and the epigram writers; Caxton; Erasmus and his group; schools and pedagogy with Elyot, Vives and Ascham; finally, *Tottel's Miscellany* and the origin of blank verse. As to the introduction of blank verse into England, Professor Berdan tends to favor Grimald and native origin over Surrey and Italian borrowing. He bases his view in part on Ascham's attack on rhyme in *The Scholemaster* (Ed. Arber, 144-149). Cheke at Cambridge and Grimald at Oxford were inveighing against rhyme, and Grimald's blank verse poems in *Tottel's Miscellany* may be prolusions of his lectures. Blank verse would thus be a metrical experiment in the direction of classicism.

Professor Berdan takes a stand against excessive French influence and is thus opposed to Sir Sidney Lee and Professor Kastner. He regards Italy as immediately dominant in English literature and Wyatt as a follower of Petrarch. His interpretation of Surrey is valuable in connection with Professor Padelford's recent edition of Surrey's poems, and his review of the facts and issues of Surrey's life is in general agreement with Professor Padelford. Surrey's position as a nobleman of distinction made his influence paramount; his English was much less archaic than that of Wyatt, and his verse form for the first time presented a coördination of accent and syllable. Wyatt, "following the mediæval tradition, composed by ear." Surrey's verse was also accentual but was usually so composed that in regular scansion the verse stress and the sense stress fell upon the same syllable. In his discussion of Surrey's translation of the second and fourth books of the *Æneid*, Professor Berdan makes the interesting suggestion that Surrey's translation may be independent of the Italian blank verse translations on which it is usually supposed to have been based. He makes no use of Miss Willcock's publication of the variants from the fourth book in the long unknown edition printed by John Day.

The strength of Professor Berdan's work lies in the vigor of its interpretation in accordance with his own statement that "to comprehend a poem written three hundred years ago requires constructive imagination."

H. C.

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Professor of English, University of Iowa

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CONTENTS

Problems in Renaissance Scholarship - - -	Hardin Craig	81
Latin Classical MSS in America - - -	Seymour de Ricci	100
Latin MSS in America - - - - -	B. L. Ullman	109
Bodmer as a Literary Borrower - - - -	C. H. Ibershoff	110
Spanish Usages and Customs in Lope de Vega -	F. O. Reed	117
Wudga in the Theodoric Legends - - -	Henning Larsen	128
A Prologue for Voltaire's Artémire		
	Gustave L. van Roosbroeck	137
St. Ambrose and Cicero - - - - -	Roy J. Deferrari	143
"Mummy" in Shakespeare - - - - -	A. H. R. Fairchild	143
Non-Latin Influence on Italian Tonic Vowels		
	Herbert H. Vaughan	147

(Concluded on third page of cover)

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SOME PROBLEMS OF SCHOLARSHIP IN THE LITERATURE OF THE RENAISSANCE, PAR- TICULARLY IN THE ENGLISH FIELD¹

By HARDIN CRAIG
University of Iowa

It is the desire of various scholars in the modern language field that their activities should be co-ordinated and possibly concentrated on certain definite and desirable objectives, so that through a term of years the knowledge and value of modern languages and literatures may be extended and increased. Whether or not such a thing is done will depend on the desires of scholars, on their willingness to co-operate unselfishly, and, possibly to a still greater extent, on the conditions imposed upon them by the circumstances in which they are placed. They are almost all teachers, swayed, if not dominated, by the demands of the American educational system. They are, moreover, scholars in fields in which primary source materials are far away, dependent on libraries of varying but usually inadequate content, and with facilities for publication largely either local or commercialized.

It is my purpose in this paper to make a survey of renaissance scholarship from a somewhat ideal point of view; but whatever action is taken in the direction of co-operative scholarship should be closely scanned from the point of view of our limitations, and subjects chosen which many scholars may be competent to undertake, and may find reasonably within the compass of their library facilities.

¹ Read before the Central Division of the *Modern Language Association of America*, December 29, 1921. Owing to limitations of space, it has been impossible to include suggested outlines of the subjects presented. The bibliographical notes have also been very greatly reduced.

It must, however, be frankly confessed, at the outset, that, in my own opinion, co-operation on the part of many scholars is not more needed than perseverance on the part of individual scholars. It is often said that American modern language scholarship is made up mainly of scattered monographs, and that though it is intelligent, sincere and highly scientific in method, it is relatively less important than it would be if it were done in larger blocks. A remedy for this would be at hand if the individual scholar stuck to his task long enough to cover larger phases of it. Publication in learned journals of various chapters of a longer work and of incidental discoveries made during the pursuit of it, is highly commendable and highly inspiring to other scholars. The thing desired is that, after the consideration of minor parts, the whole book should, if possible, finally appear.

It is worth while in the first place to call to mind various co-operative enterprises in the field of scholarship. The system most commonly used, when a subject is undertaken, is first to divide it into parts, and, secondly, to select from the group of recognized scholars those thought best equipped by the nature of their specialization and by their talents to undertake the various particular units of the whole. This method has long been in use, particularly by encyclopædia makers. The *Dictionary of National Biography* stands out as one of its noted achievements. Traill's *Social England* was an early application of the method to historical and literary subjects. The *Cambridge Modern History*, the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and *Shakespeare's England* are more recent examples. Differing slightly from these are the *English Men of Letters* and the *American Men of Letters* and other series of biographies. In *The American Nation: A History*, each participant writes a full volume instead of a chapter or section. Of course, in this connection, one recalls, as among the most important of all co-operative efforts, Müller's *Handbuch*, Paul's *Grundriss*, Gröber's *Grundriss*, and the *Histoire littéraire de la France*.

Another type of co-operation in which a great deal remains to be done is in the publication of texts. We need not enumerate the various English societies, and the various French, German, Spanish and Italian series. Still other examples of co-operation are to be found in various co-operative editions. Shakespeare has

been edited over and over again by this method and is being edited at this time by the English scholars of an American university, where also for a term of years English students have been editing the plays of Ben Jonson.

An immediate example of co-operation is found in the plans of the National Research Council, in which various sections are devoting themselves to certain large objectives. The geological section, for example, is devoting itself to Sedimentation, for it seems that sedimentary rocks have been somewhat neglected as compared with igneous and metamorphic rocks and were, therefore, a fit subject for study. Co-operation of an informal character has perhaps been the rule even in the English field in America. One recalls the work at one university on Chaucer and his contemporaries, and that at another on the early drama.

All told then, I think it will be granted that co-operation is desirable. The task, therefore, would seem to be, first, to ascertain what needs to be done on the present basis of modern language scholarship; and, secondly, to attempt to determine one or more new points of view from adherence to which new light may be thrown upon old matters and new truths discovered.

I find myself under the necessity of speaking mainly of the field of English literature, and I hope that scholars in ancient and other modern languages will piece out my imperfections by criticizing, applying, and supplementing what I have to say, from their knowledge of their own fields and of my field.

British scholarship of the Renaissance has been excellent from an antiquarian point of view. English literature has been well illustrated. This is true of scholarship from the time of Sir Egerton Brydges and Malone to *Shakespeare's England*. It has also been excellent in biography and history, although, possibly, no genuine study of literature from a historical standpoint has ever been made. Literary students in all countries have of recent years showed an increasing preoccupation with literary form. Prosody has been studied historically and, to a certain extent, psychologically; likewise the forms of prose discourse. Recent study has covered the romance, the ballad, the pastoral, the lyric, the exemplum, the dialogue, the rogue story, the essay, the emblem, comedy, tragedy, and many other forms. The history of criticism has had its share of attention, and many Renaissance critical writ-

ings have been republished. This has been accompanied by an extensive, if not profound, study of technique. Of all Renaissance forms the drama has been most extensively studied. Major writers, such as Shakespeare, Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, have of course had a maximum of attention.

A very good idea of the widely varied subjects of Renaissance scholarship, which are also the subjects of modern language scholarship in general, can be gained by examining the partition of material in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, volumes III, IV and V. The object of the editors of that work, as stated in the preface to volume I, was: "(a) A connected account was to be given of the successive movements of English literature, both main and subsidiary; and this was intended to imply an adequate treatment of secondary writers, instead of their being overshadowed by a few great names. (b) Note was to be taken of the influence of foreign literature upon English and (though in a less degree) of that of English upon foreign literature. (c) Each chapter of the work was to be furnished with a sufficient bibliography." This is the now long recognized method of literary study with Taine's rubric of "the man, the age, and the book" at its base. M. Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People*, volume II, parts 1 and 2, is, with all his charm, still more conventional.

As one looks in bewilderment at the great mass of Renaissance scholarship and endeavors to ascertain what, on the present basis, remains to be done, it requires great boldness to hazard an opinion. Ideas are numerous enough; but to be certain that they are valuable, that they have not been worked out already, that they will prove achievable in practice, are considerations which make one hesitate.

I. First, I should like to mention the publication or republication of Renaissance texts. I think this should be done without the expenditure of time and money on introductory exposition and critical notes, in order that the funds may go further and a greater quantity of material be issued. The Newberry Library list of books to be rotographed, prepared with the assistance of Professor C. R. Baskervill and Dr. F. I. Carpenter, is an indication of what remains to be done in the publication or republication of Renaissance literature. Works of science, encyclopædic

works, school-books, the annotations of important editions of the classics and the commentaries on them, works illustrative of the history of criticism are also needed. It would be worth while eventually to reissue many of the texts contained in the closely limited bibliophile editions of works of literary and social interest, such as Grosart's *Occasional Issues* and the publications of the Roxburghe Club.² American scholars are the ones mainly to be benefited by the multiplication of Renaissance texts, and one sees no reason why the time of American scholars and the funds at their disposal should not be devoted to that end.

II. There are also specialized contributions to various fields which seem to be needed. Ideas of varying interest and importance have come to my notice.

1. The actual workings of the ferment of the Italian Renaissance in the fifteenth century in England and to a certain degree in France are little known. We know only the followers of Chaucer and have only the records of a few travelers and students who went to Italy during that period.³ Mr. A. F. Leach's work

² There are works, not published in recent times, or found only in closely limited editions, by Sir Thomas Elyot, Sir Thomas More, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Lupset, Alexander Barclay, Stephen Hawes, John Skelton, Simon Fish, Stephen Gardiner, George Joy, Thomas Churchyard, Barnabe Googe, Richard Mulcaster, Nicholas Grimald, Thomas Tusser, George Turberville, Thomas Deloney, Stephen Gosson, Anthony Munday, and even Jeremy Taylor. Suggestions of works in need of republication will be found, amongst other places, in Ashbee, E. W., *Occasional Facsimile Reprints*, 1876-; Boswell, Sir A., *Fronde Caducae*, 1816-18; Brydges, Sir S. E., *Archæica*, 1815, and other publications; Collier, J. P., various publications; Grosart, A. B., *Occasional Issues*, 1875-81; Halliwell(-Phillipps), J. O., *Nugae Poeticae*, 1844, *Early English Miscellanies*, 1855, and numerous other publications; Haslewood, J., *Fly-leaves*, 1822-; Hazlitt, W. C., *Fugitive Poetical Tracts*, 1875, *Inedited Tracts*, 1868, and numerous other publications; Hindley, C., *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, 1871-3, and other publications; Huth, H., *Inedited Poetical Miscellanies*, 1870, *Fugitive Tracts*, 1875, *Isham Reprints*, 1895; Park, T., *Heliconia*, 1815, and other publications; Triphook, R., *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*, 1816; Utterson, E. V., *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817; Wright, T., *Anecdota Literaria*, 1844, *Songs and Ballads with other short Poems*, 1860, *Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum*, 1856, *Reliquiae Antiquae* (with Halliwell), 1841-3; also the publications of older bibliophile societies. The introductions to Grosart's various editions are full of suggestions; as also, of course, Hazlitt's *Handbook* with its supplementary collections. See also Grosart, A. B., *Handlist of Unique or extremely Rare Elizabethan-Jacobean-Carolian Books*, Blackburn, 1884-5.

³ Voigt, Georg, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 3. Aufl., besorgt v. Lehnert, Max, Berlin, 1893; Einstein, L. D., *The Italian Renaissance in England*, New York, 1902; Waller, A. R., "Political and Religious Verse to the Close of the Fifteenth Century," *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* (Am. ed.),

has revealed a great deal of scholastic activity in England during the century. There is evidence that Latin culture at least proceeded along the lines of the Italian Renaissance, and it may be that a study of the Latinity of the century would reveal results of great importance.

2. The Chaucerian tradition in poetry has been widely studied; the native tradition to a less degree. A ground for renewed and more careful study might be found by following the suggestion recently made by Professor Berdan, that attention be devoted to the mediaeval Latin tradition in verse, both in the works of poetic doctrinaires, and in those of vernacular poets, whose imitation of it was more unconscious.⁴

3. Certainly historians of literature have not fully appreciated what might be called the persistence of vulgar literature. Almost nothing which ever existed, at least in printed form, ever entirely disappeared during the Renaissance. We have, for example, books on lucky days and superstitious husbandry appearing regularly from the invention of printing and before until long after the period of the Renaissance. Books for the ignorant did not disappear with the introduction of finer literary forms, though, of course, they ceased to be the vogue. One of the most interesting and puzzling phenomena in the English Renaissance is the recrudescence of outworn mediaevalism in the works of Dekker and his contemporaries.⁵

Vol. II, pp. 475-86, with bibliography; also articles in the same volume by Greenwood, Alice; Coulton, G. G., *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*, Cambridge, 1918; Brown, Carleton, *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, Bibliog. Soc., 1916; Gairdner, James, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, London, 1861-3, and edition of *Paston Letters*; Gasquet, F. A., various works; Leach, A. F., various publications; household accounts, state papers, wills, records, school books, books of nurture and courtesy.

⁴ Berdan, J. M., *Early Tudor Poetry*, New York, 1920; Herford, C. H., *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1896; Koelbing, A., "Barclay and Skelton," *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. III, pp. 63-92, with bibliography; see also volume II, pp. 422-48, and accompanying bibliography. Various articles in learned periodicals by Professor C. R. Baskervill show the extent and importance of native vernacular literature in England during the Renaissance.

⁵ Routh, Harold V., "The Progress of Social Literature in Tudor Times," *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. III, pp. 93-129, with admirable bibliography of popular literature; Duff, E. Gordon, "English Fifteenth Century Broad-sides," *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, Vol. IX, pp. 211-27; Slater, J. H., "Books on Magic," *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 171-93; Bosanquet, E. F., *English Printed Almanacks and*

4. The researches of McKerrow, Pollard and other members of the Bibliographical Society have given a new insight into the conditions of early printing and opened the way for many tasks of great importance.⁶

5. The sixteenth century history of the influence of Erasmus needs to be written, and the topic connects itself with Lucianism and with the literature of folly during the century. Lyly's comedies are said to show the influence of the *Colloquia*, and there was certainly a Lucianic revival at the time of Thomas Dekker. Possibly also it would be worth while to trace the history of the *Utopia* in England and in Europe more carefully than it has yet been traced.⁷

6. The French religious drama needs to be restudied from the point of view entertained by Creizenach and Chambers. The work of Petit de Julleville, with its constant misunderstanding of the

Prognostications, Bibliog. Soc., 1917; Hulme, F. E., *Natural History Lore and Legend*, London, 1895; Notestein, W., *A History of Witchcraft in England*, Washington, 1911; Black, W. G., *Folk Medicine*, F. L. S., 1883 (with other publications of F. L. S.); Furnivall, F. J., *Meals and Manners*, E. E. T. S., 1868; Henderson, T. F., *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, 1910.

⁶ The transactions and publications of the Bibliographical Society offer a great body of information; see, particularly, McKerrow, R. B., "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors," *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, Vol. XII, pp. 211-318; and Duff, E. Gordon, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 1905, a work after the manner of Renouard's dictionary for Paris. Some articles of importance are also to be found in *The Library*. The older work of Sir S. E. Brydges and of W. C. Hazlitt is also important, as is Blades, William, *Shakespeare and Typography*, 1872; Arber, E., *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, 1875-94; Lee, Sir S., *A Catalogue of Shakespeareana*, 1899; McKerrow, R. B., "Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationers' Trade," *Shakespeare's England*, Vol. II, pp. 212-39; Aldis, H. G., "The Book Trade, 1557-1625," *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 432-73, and Duff, E. Gordon, "The Introduction of Printing into England and the Early Work of the Press," *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 353-76, both with excellent bibliographies; Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, Vol. II, pp. 71-177; *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild*, Paris, 1884-93. See also Smith, D. Nichol, "Authors and Patrons," *Shak. Eng.*, Vol. II, pp. 182-211; and Sheavyn, Phoebe, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, Manchester, 1909.

⁷ Bibliographies to chapters 1 and 2, *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. III, will supply references. The university of Ghent and *Bibliothèque nationale* have published bibliographies of Erasmus. Seebohm, Frederic, *The Oxford Reformers*, 1887, is an obvious beginning. The following works may also be of value in the early stages of the study: *George Buchanan, Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*, Glasgow, 1906; Burrows, Montagu, "On Grocyn and Linacre," Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, Second Series, 1890; Kautsky, K., *Thomas More und seine Utopia*, Stuttgart, 1907; Manning, A., *The Household of Sir Thomas More*, London, 1860; Nisard, Desiré, *Etudes sur la Renaissance*,

origin and processes of growth and development in mystery and miracle plays, grows constantly less adequate as time goes on.

7. There is also said to be a large field unworked in the early classical drama in France, many dramas, particularly in Latin, remaining unknown.⁸

8. The Huguenot and Calvinistic movement with its enormous literary, social and philosophic importance has not, in England at least, had the attention it deserves. Akin to this also is the little known but extensive body of mystical devotional literature, originating apparently in Spain, which spread over Europe in the sixteenth century.⁹

9. One perceives also that the bases of more recent movements in literature, as found in the sixteenth century, demand further study. Particularly, such sources are to be found in the work of the great English school of antiquarians in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which certainly anticipates the interest in the antique, the "Gothick," which appears in the eighteenth century; in the works of scholars also, and in the narratives of voyagers—all of

Paris, 1855; Nohac, P. de, *Érasme en Italie*, Paris, 1888; Lefranc, Abel, *Les Navigations de Pantagruel*, Paris, 1905; Pattison, Mark, *Isaac Casaubon*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1892; Renaudet, A., "Érasme, sa vie et son œuvre jusq'en 1517," *Revue historique*, Vols. CXI, pp. 225-62, and CXII, 241-74; Richter, Max, *Die Stellung des Erasmus zu Luther*, Leipzig, 1900; Schönfeld, H., *Die Beziehung der Satire Rabelais zur Erasmus Encomium Moriae und Colloquia*, Baltimore, 1895; Sherwin, P. F., *Some Sources of More's Utopia*, Albuquerque, N. M., 1917; Vander Meulen, John, *Erasmus as a Religious Reformer*, Chicago, 1907.

⁸ Petit de Julleville, L., *Histoire du théâtre en France*, Paris, 1880-6; Soleinne, Martineau de, *Bibliothèque dramatique*, catalogue rédigé par Jacob, P. L., Paris, 1843. See also Henriques, G. J. C., *George Buchanan in the Spanish Inquisition*, Lisbon, 1896; Boas, F. S., *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, 1914; Churchill, G. B., and Keller, Wolfgang, "Die lateinischen Universitäts-Dramen Englands," *Jb. d. deut. Sh.-Ges.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 286ff.; Cunliffe, J. W., *Early English Classical Tragedy*, 1912; Faguet, E., *La tragédie française au XVI^e siècle*, Leipzig, 1897, and other works; Rigal, E., *Le théâtre français avant la période classique*, Paris, 1901; Lee, Sir Sidney, *The French Renaissance in England*, New York, 1910; McKerrow, R. B., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, London, 1904-10. Several English university dramas have been edited by G. C. Moore Smith.

⁹ In attempting to indicate the generation of a new mental and moral outlook during the Renaissance (mainly through theology, philosophy and science) one can only list a group of works which of themselves may suggest the field of the investigation. Bibliography will be found in *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* (see particularly Vol. III, pp. 453-74, and Vol. IV, pp. 308-61, with accompanying bibliographies), *Shakespeare's England* (articles on Religion, on the Sciences, and on Education), and *Camb. Mod. Hist.* See also Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, pp. 285-355; Owen, John, *The Skeptics of*

which with other features seem to me to foreshadow the Romantic Movement.¹⁰

10. There is need for an extensive and discriminating study of the forerunners of Spenser, or rather his earlier contemporaries. The literary activities of writers like George Gascoigne, Thomas Churchyard, and the contributors to the poetical miscellanies were inconsistent and widely varied and give an impression of amorphousness. Native tendencies and foreign and classical influences were contending for mastery, and the current of literary fashion and doctrine had not yet begun to follow a definite course.¹¹

III. Another type of work which might lend itself to co-operation may be described as a critical aggregation into larger units of a number of independent studies of subordinate aspects of a general subject. Let me illustrate by reference to Professor J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 1917. There Professor Adams has gathered his materials from various minor sources, in many cases from minor researches which he himself had made; but mainly from the works of other men. His task is definite, his book is aggregative and he may be said to have organized existing knowledge on the subject of Shakespearean playhouses.

I hazard four suggestions of this kind which are so varied and extensive as to necessitate appeal to many scholars in more than one language.

the French Renaissance, London, 1893; Waddington, C., *Ramus, sa vie, ses écrits et ses opinions*, Paris, 1855; Armstrong, E., "The Political Theory of the Huguenots," *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. IV, 13-40, and *The French Wars of Religion*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1904; Baird, H. M., *History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, New York, 1879, and *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, New York, 1886; Creighton, M., *Cardinal Wolsey*, new ed., London, 1898, and *The Tudors and the Reformation*, London, 1896; Gairdner, James, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, 1908-13; Hyland, St. George Kieran, *A Century of Persecution*, London, 1920; Moore, Norman, *The Physician in English History*, and other works; Pierce, William, *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, London, 1908, and *The Marprelate Tracts*, London, 1911; Pollard, A. F., *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation, 1489-1556*, London, 1904, and other works; Seebohm, F., *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, new ed., London, 1902; also various publications of the Huguenot Society, the Parker Society and the Scottish Text Society and various histories of science and philosophy.

¹⁰ Whibley, Charles, "Chroniclers and Antiquaries," *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. III, pp. 356-85, has a good bibliography.

¹¹ The works of several authors of this group have been edited by Bullen, Grosart and others. Many appear in the publications of learned and bibliophile societies; bibliographies are to be found in *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*

1. I suggest a restudy, on deeper and broader lines, of the history of prose discourse. Prose should, I think, be studied as a progressive formulation of the language, a formulation which it underwent in order to make it an effective medium for the expression of thought. Everyone has noticed how much easier it usually is to understand sixteenth century poetry than it is to understand sixteenth century prose. The reason for this is that poetry earlier became a more disciplined and predictable medium, its conventions better established and its licenses more restrained. What is Euphuism after all but an attempt to organize prose? The phenomenon of Euphuism appears not only in England but in France and other European countries, rather, perhaps, as a parallel manifestation of a growth of sentence organization in many prose vernaculars, than as a result of imitation. Such a study must of course constantly have in mind not only Cicero and the Latin classics, but mediaeval, and especially Renaissance Latin also, and those translations from foreign tongues which carry with them something of their original idiom. Much work has been done in this field and much remains to be done.¹²

2. Something might be said of the desirability and practicability of an extensive study which would aggregate, supplement and set in order the vast subject of the literary relations of European countries during the Renaissance. A great deal of work has been done to show the influence of various countries upon England during the Renaissance, and enormous amounts also to show the interrelationships of other countries.¹³ Such an undertaking

¹² Saintsbury, George, *A History of English Prose Rhythm*, London, 1912; Patterson, W. M., *The Rhythm of Prose*, New York, 1916; Lyly's *Euphuës*, ed. Croll, M. W., and Clemons, Harry, London, 1916, Introduction; various studies of individual authors; works on rhetoric and prose style.

¹³ Betz, Louis Paul, *La littérature comparée, essai bibliographique*, 2. éd., pub. avec un index méthodique par Baldensperger, F., Strassbourg, 1904; Anders, H. R. D., *Shakespeare's Books*, Berlin, 1904; Bapst, E., *Deux Gentils-hommes-poètes de la cour de Henry VIII*, Paris, 1891; Baschet, A., *Les comédiens italiens à la cour de France*, Paris, 1882; Berdan, *Early Tudor Poetry*; Bond, B. W., *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, Oxford, 1902; Brecht, W., *Die Verfasser der Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, Strassburg, 1904; Chambers, E. K., *English Pastorals*, London, 1906; Charlanne, Louis, *L'influence française en Angleterre au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1906; Crane, T. F., *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century and their Influence on the Literatures of Europe*, New Haven, 1920; Croce, Benedetto, *La Spagna nella vita italiana*, Bari, 1917; Einstein, L., *The Italian Renaissance in England*, New York, 1902; Elder, John B., *Spanish Influences in Scottish History*,

would need to be done from carefully studied points of view. The classics were so well known, and so completely dominated, in all countries, the literary thought of the time that, evidently, the undertaking would demand the assistance of classical scholars.

In the matter of translations, the method of the editors of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* breaks down, for certainly it is not adequate to study translators simply as makers of more or less excellent versions of foreign works. It would seem, on the contrary, that, when a work is put into a given vernacular, it becomes a part of the literature of that language and has its principal significance in the field it enters and the influence it

Glasgow, 1920; Faguet, Émile, *Seizième siècle, études littéraires*, Paris, 1894, and *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1898; Farinelli, Arturo, *L'Opera di un Maestro*, Torino, 1920, and various other works by Farinelli; Foxwell, A. K., *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, London, 1911, and *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, London, 1914; Flamini, Francesco, "Le Lettere Italiane alla Corte di Francesco I Re de Francia," *Studi di Storia Letteraria Italiana e Straniere*, Livorno, 1895; Furnivall, F. J., *Robert Laneham's Letter*, Shakespeare Library, 1907; Geiger, L., *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1882; Greg, W. W., *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906; Hall, Henry M., *Idylls of Fishermen*, New York, 1912; Hauvette, Henri, *Un exilé florentin à la cour de France au XVIe siècle: Luigi Alamanni, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1903; Herford, C. H., *Literary Relations*; Hoog Az., W. de, *Studien over de Nederl. en Engelsche taal en letterkunde en haar wederzijdschen invloed*, Dordrecht, 1902-3; Hume, Martin, *Spanish Influence on English Literature*, London, 1905; Petit de Julleville, L., *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, 1896-9; Jusserand, J. J., *A Literary History of the English People*, London, 1895-1909; Kastner, L. E., *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, Manchester, 1913, and various other writings of Professor Kastner, mainly in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*; Kalff, G., *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde in de 16. eeuw*, Leiden, 1889; Koelbing, A., "Barclay and Skelton," *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. III, pp. 63-92; Koepfel, E., *Studien zur Geschichte des englischen Petrarchismus*, Rom. Forsch. 5; Lanson, G., *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*, Paris, 1909-14; Laumonier, Paul, *Bonsard, poète lyrique*, Paris, 1909; Lee, Sir Sidney, *The French Renaissance in England*, New York, 1910, and various other works; Meyer, E., *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*, 1897; Moorman, F. W., *William Browne: His Britannia's Pastorals and the Pastoral Poetry of the Elizabethan Age*. Quellen u. Forsch., 81; Nollac, P. de, *Pétrarche et l'humanisme*, Bibl. de l'école des hautes études, Vol. XC, pp. 148-153; Padelford, F. M., *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, Seattle, 1920; Rennert, H. A., "The Spanish Pastoral Romances," *P. M. L. A.*, Vol. VII, part 3; Reissert, O., "Bemerkungen über Spenser's *Shepherds Calender* u. die frühere *Bukolik*," *Anglia*, Vol. IX, pp. 205-224, and *Die Eklogen des Alexander Barclay*, Hannover, 1886; Robertson, J. M., *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, London, 1897; Rosenbach, U. S. W., "The Influence of 'The Celestina' in the Early English Drama," *Jb. d. deut. Sh-Ges.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 43-73; Sainte-Beuve, C. A., *Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française au XVIIe siècle*, nouv. éd., Paris, 1869; Scott, M. A., "Elizabethan Translations from the Italian," *P. M. L. A.*, Vols. X, XI, XIII, XIV; in one volume, revised, Boston

exercises.¹⁴ North's *Plutarch* and Golding's *Ovid*, which are always considered together by writers on Elizabethan translations, probably appealed to very different audiences.

3. An almost equally extensive task, and one in which still less has been done, is the study of the Greek and Latin classics in the sixteenth century. The classics of the sixteenth century were not the classics which we have, nor were they regarded as we regard them. They were the classics plus their *spuria*; they were often mediaeval fabrications or ancient work wrongly attributed; and, finally, they were the classics as edited and annotated by the scholars of that day. We cannot know, however much we may talk about classical influence in the Renaissance, what that influence was unless we put ourselves in a position to know what the classics then were and what they signified. The *spuria* of Lucian, including the unfortunate *Philopatris*, were regularly published; so also Pseudo-Ovid and forged or falsely attributed works of Cicero. Almost every author had his group of spurious works. There were also fabrications out of whole cloth like the *Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius* and the famous epistles of Phalaris. There was, moreover, a quality of immediacy in the way men conceived of Greek and Roman life. The Greeks and

and New York, 1916. Segrè, Carlo, *Relazioni letterarie fra Italia e Inghilterra*, Firenze, 1911, and *Studi Petrarqueschi*, Firenze, 1902; Sommer, H. O., *Erster Versuch über die englischen Hirtendichtung*, Marburg, 1888; Spingarn, J. E., *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899; Stieffel, L., various studies in comparative literature published mainly in German learned periodicals; Tilley, Arthur, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1904; Torraca, F., *Gl'Imitatori stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro*, Rome, 1882; Underhill, J. G., *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, New York, 1899; Upham, A. H., *The French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration*, New York, 1908; Vries, T. de, *Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature*, Chicago, 1916; Wyatt, M. Digby, *On the Foreign Artists Employed in England during the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1868; Wyndham, George, *Essays in Romantic Literature*, new ed., London, 1919; Zocco, I., *Petrarchismo e Petrarchisti in Inghilterra*, Palermo, 1906. The transactions and publications of the Bibliographical Society also afford important materials. For references concerning the drama see note preceding, also Schelling, F. E., *The Elizabethan Drama*, Boston, 1908, and the bibliographies to *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vols. V, VI.

¹⁴ Palmer, Henrietta R., *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed Before 1641*, Bibl. Soc., 1911; Sandys, Sir John Edwin, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1903-8, Vol. II, pp. 239ff, and his articles on "Education" and "Scholarship" in *Shak. Engl.*, Vol. I, pp. 224-250, 251-283; Whibley, Charles, "Translators," *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-28, with alphabetical list of authors and authorities; introductions to various *Tudor Translations*; materials in preceding note.

Romans lived and walked and talked and had romances built up around them. Dares and Dictys still had their standing. One need not wonder at the popularity of the spurious Cicero-Sallust invectives, since Cicero and Sallust were in a sense more alive than even recent national heroes. Perhaps this was an after-effect of the romances; perhaps it was due to the particular writers who were popular, for they chose the more human group without reference to validity—Cicero, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus.¹⁵

4. The researches of Mr. A. F. Leach have served to reveal a far more extensive school life in England in pre-reformation times than has been currently believed, and though Professor Watson and others have studied schools and curricula during the Renaissance itself, no definite attempt has been made to ascertain on a wide scale the literary outcroppings of schools, school-books and school-masters. With reference to Shakespeare we know from the work of various scholars beginning with Farmer, the immense rôle

¹⁵ Bibliographical material is to be found in Bursian, *Jahresbericht*; Christ, *Griech. Lit.-Ges.*; Schanz, *Ges. der röm. Lit.*; Teuffel-Schwabe-Kroll, *Ges. der röm. Lit.*, 6 ed.; Sandys, *Hist. of Clas. Scholarship*. There is also much scattered material in *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* and *Hist. littéraire de la France*; The Bibl. Soc. has published articles and books of importance. See also, particularly, the following: Botfield, B., *Prefaces to the first Editions of Greek and Roman Classics*, London, 1861; Braitmeier, F., *Ueber die Schätzung Homers und Vergils von C. Scaliger bis Herder*, Tübingen, 1886; Counson, A., *Malherbe et ses sources*, Liège, 1904; Curcio, Gaetano, *Q. Orazio Flacco Studiato in Italia dal Secolo XIII al XVIII*, Catania, 1913; Finsler, G., *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe*, Leipzig, 1912 (review by Shorey, P., *Clas. Phil.*, Vol. VII, pp. 504-505); Harris, L. H., "Local Color in Ben Jonson's *Catiline*, and Historical Accuracy of the Play," *Clas. Phil.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 273-283; Hübner, E., "Horaz in Spanien," *Nord u. Süd*, 25-31, 1888; Kerlin, E. T., *Theocritus in English Literature*, Lynchburg, Va., 1910; Menéndez y Pelayo, D. M., *Horacio en España*, Solaces bibliográficos, 2. ed., 1885; Mullinger, J. Bass, *University of Cambridge*, London, 1888; Mustard, W. P., *The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro*, Baltimore, 1914; and various important articles, mainly in *Amer. Jour. Clas. Phil.*; Reinhardtstoettner, K. v., *Die Klassischen Schriftsteller des Alterthums in ihrem Einflusse auf späteren Literaturen*, I *Plautus*, Leipzig, 1886; Reinsch, H., *Ben Jonsons Poetik und seine Beziehungen zu Horaz*, Münchener Beitr., 16; Schevill, R., *Cervantes and Virgil*, Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences, 1908; *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain*, Univ. of Calif. Publications in Mod. Phil., 4; Smith, K. F., "Notes on Tibullus," *A. J. Phil.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 131-155; Stapfer, Paul, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity*, Engl. tran., London, 1880; Stemplinger, E., *Das Fortleben der Horazischen Lyrik seit der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1906, and magazine articles by the same author; Willamowitz-Möllendorff, U. v., *Homersche Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1884; Zieliński, Th., *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig, 1908. See also various modern critical editions of the classics. Publications and transactions of the Bibl. Soc. give information about early humanists and their activities in printing. Shakespeare's classical background has been carefully studied and his sources published.

which school learning played in the performance of his plays.¹⁶ Why may we not believe that the same is true of lesser men? We need to have school-books re-published and rendered accessible and to have the literature of the sixteenth century studied from the point of view not of those who know the history of schools and the theories of education then current, but of those who know the very books that were studied on the school forms.

Here perhaps I might list the somewhat obvious task of trying to organize and co-ordinate the enormous amount of work done on literary forms, in which efforts are made to discover the "laws" governing the construction of tragedy, epic, or novel. I am ready to do so, especially if this project would in some measure discourage the purely formal consideration of types of literature. Such study seems procrustean and relatively arid, and, if I am to suggest an approach, it would be to start from a point of view by which the characteristics of each piece of literature might be considered apart from family or species; we might thus arrive at a better understanding of literary categories.¹⁷

Another type of work similar to the kind I have been suggesting arises from the necessity of continual re-editing. With the extension of scholarship, editions become antiquated, just as various fields of literature need to be reworked because of new discoveries which upset the conceptions of former scholars. Take, for example, the case of Chaucer. We now use in schools and colleges various bad little editions of certain of Chaucer's works,

¹⁶ The writings and publications of Mr. A. F. Leach and Mr. Foster Watson are principal sources of information. See, particularly, Leach, A. F., "Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England," *Proceedings of Brit. Acad.* Vol. VI, pp. 433-80. Articles in the *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, Vol. II, pp. 387-421; III, 475-498; IV, 474-497, have valuable bibliographies. See also Benndorf, Cornelie, *Die englische Pädagogik im 16. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Beitr., 1905; Brown, Carleton, *English Grammar Schools before the Reformation*, an unpublished Harvard doctor's thesis (copy in the Univ. of Chicago library); Buisson, F., *Répertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques du XVIe. Siècle*, Paris, 1886; Hazlitt, W. C., *Schools, Schoolbooks, and Schoolmasters*, 2. ed., London, 1905; Rashdall, H., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1895; Bait, R. S., *Life in the Medieval University*, Cambridge, 1912; various publications of the Bibl. Soc. There is also a considerable body of writing which has to do with Shakespeare's school learning.

¹⁷ Hack, E. K., "The Doctrine of Literary Forms," *Harvard Studies in Clas. Phil.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 1-65; Spingarn, J. E., *Creative Criticism*, New York, 1917, and *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 2. ed., New York, 1908; Murray, Sir Gilbert, *Religio Grammatici*, Boston, 1918, and various writings; also various works of Professor Irving Babbitt.

which republish the late Professor Skeat's text, give a little bit of biographical information frequently derived from the Oxford Chaucer and a series of annotations frequently composed of excerpts from Professor Skeat's notes. Such editions are bad because they and their source are antiquated. A great deal of valuable and successful research has been directed towards Chaucer, the background of his work, and the structure of his language. One wonders if a new edition of Chaucer should not now be made. It has been suggested by Professor Manly that English students might combine in re-editing Spenser, whose complete works have never been carefully and elaborately presented.¹⁸ One is also tempted to suggest co-operative work in re-editing Bacon, certain of the Elizabethan dramatists, and Sir Philip Sidney.

III. When it comes to the suggestion of a new point of approach to Renaissance literature, I have not the hardihood, in the presence of the enormously varied work of Renaissance scholars, to do more than to say, as I have already said, that some aspects like the drama, the pastoral, historical and biographical study, have been worked much more industriously than others. Some of those others I have already mentioned. I have reserved until this time the presentation of certain general aspects which might almost be considered new points of view. Such considerations have arisen from the general advancement of science, particularly social science, and one asks if it would be feasible to rewrite the history of Renaissance literature in the light of what is known of economics, sociology, education, psychology and the historical discoveries within the boundaries of these sciences. Certainly, though they are closely allied to literature, they have played a smaller part than they deserve to play in the pursuit of literary investigation.

With reference to the general conception of the Renaissance of art and letters, to what extent can it be said to have originated from conditions which altered the organization of society, and not, according to the traditional view, to have operated as the

¹⁸ *The Shepheardes Calender* (Ed Herford, C. H., 1895) and the *Minor Poems* (Ed. Sélincourt, Ernest de, 1910) have been well edited. An edition of Spenser should take into consideration the somewhat neglected Spenserian imitators whose works are published in the *Spenser Society* and elsewhere.

originator of social changes? The Renaissance has been thought of as resulting from the ferment of ancient culture working its way westward from Constantinople. Burckhardt's view has appealed to me as being nearer the truth when he attributes it to a political and dynastic situation in Italy by which in the seven larger states and the various smaller ones, so fluid a social condition was produced that, for the first time, laymen of low birth might find their way by their own talents and energy to the highest positions in the state. Artists and writers were among those most highly rewarded.¹⁹

Literary and artistic forms and models do not seem to me normally to be originating forces, but only patterns of activity or, to change the figure, channels through which currents of life otherwise produced find their way. If this is true of the Renaissance in Italy, it is certainly also true of the Renaissance in France, which came nearly two hundred years later, and of the Renaissance in England, which was later than that in France. Men must somehow have obtained their food more easily; mechanical discoveries and new industrial methods must have given them more wealth and more leisure; better opportunities must have been afforded the individual to rise by his own efforts under kinder social and political conditions. One recalls that the fall of Antwerp in 1576 made London the center of European trade.

The Renaissance in its most fundamental aspect was characterized by a series of events which relieved the minds of the people

¹⁹ Bewsher, F. W., *The Reformation and the Renaissance Compared*, London, 1913; Burckhardt, J., *Die Kultur der Renaissance*, Basel, 1860, various later editions and English translation; Busch, Wilhelm, *England under the Tudors*, trans. Todd, Alice M., London, 1895; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, Vol. I, with bibliographies; Cartwright, Julia, *Isabella D'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, 1474-1539*, New York, 1903; Gabineau, Arthur, Count, *The Renaissance*, Engl. ed. by Levy, Oscar, New York, 1913; Lee, Sir Sidney, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1904, *French Ren. in Engl.* and various other works; Monnier, Phillippe, *Le Quattrocento*, new ed., Paris, 1912; Pater, Walter, *The Renaissance*, new ed., London, 1910; Pattison, Mark, *Essays*, Oxford, 1889, and Isaac Casaubon; Saintsbury, George, *The Earlier Renaissance*, London, 1901; articles on the "Fine Arts" in *Shak. Engl.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-73, with bibliographies; Smith, G. Gregory, *The Transition Period*, London, 1900; Stubbs, W., *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History*, 3. ed., Oxford, 1900; earlier writings of Swinburne; Symonds, J. A., *The Renaissance in Italy*, Edinburgh, 1898; Tilley, Arthur, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1918, which takes the place of the author's *Introductory Essay*, 1885; Traill, H. D., *Social Engl.*, Vol. III, with bibliographies.

of Europe from various inhibitions. Literary productions might be looked at and classified from this point of view, and it might be discovered how and why a certain force became vocal and operated either to increase mental courage and open new paths of thought, or to re-establish older forces and give strength to conservative tendencies. Religious literature with its Reformation and Counter-Reformation seems to be a typical case. In such a study constant note must be taken of forces which had been established for a generation or more and of newer foreign influences.

This conception changes the emphasis on almost everything it embraces. How enormously important, for example, becomes the history of social classes, the careers of individuals, the current opportunities for education, the breaking down of religious restrictions and moral and mental inhibitions, the development of science, the invention of machinery, the organization of business and trade, the routes and methods of commerce, the migrations from country to country and from place to place in the same country.²⁰

²⁰ Much of the great mass of material has been published or used by historians and the writers of economic history. It is in the form of letters, state papers, public and domestic accounts, chronicles, tracts, and various contemporary documents, and can be located in source-books of English history, in the publications of the British government and of learned societies. Traill's *Social England*, *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, *Shakespeare's England* all give bibliographies. See also Humphreys, Arthur L., *A Handbook of County Bibliography*, London, 1917. Suggested outline for collection of materials: (a) Politics: Political theory, growth of freedom, influence of event, effects of organization of society, laws and courts. (b) Philosophy and Science: Conditions, tradition and innovation. (c) Religion: Influence of event, individualism and authority, aspects or phases of religious thought. (d) Economics: Conditions, economic theory, trade and manufacture including printing and bookselling, money and finance, the spread of luxury, state of the poor, foreign and domestic commerce. (e) Society: Classes, home life and filial relations, manners and customs, fashion, crime, state of culture, education, travel, art and art theory, literature and criticism. (f) The individual: Social, economic and political opportunities, freedom of thought. The literary manifestations of each major subject and the relations of each to every other one should be studied. The point of view of the whole study should be the breaking down or reestablishment of political, philosophic, religious, economic, social, and individual inhibitions and the consideration of the degree to which there was provided an open field and a fair chance for industry, enterprise, and intelligence. The most fruitful and illuminating investigation of the history of literature is that which proceeds far enough in the study of background to gain in some measure a contemporary point of view; so that the knowledge, thought and feeling of a bygone age may be realized and interpreted.

I have said nothing about language because I feel hardly competent to do so; but I realize that a new study of language from a social point of view would be essential, since language would be not only one of the chief instruments in the study, but might itself be the object. It has not always been realized by philologists that the learned and the illiterate, the nobility and the peasantry, speak, and have always spoken different languages, and that the language of learning and literature has always been more studied and elevated than even the colloquial speech of the polite and the educated.²¹

It is also true that we have within the last thirty years a new psychology. Its bearing upon literary creation and appreciation should be more fully worked out, and, as it is worked out, it will affect Renaissance problems, because in their separateness, their clear partitions, their ascertainable ideals, they are adapted to study.

Finally, there might be an extensive, intelligent and thorough study of the rôle of fashion. I believe that the literature of the Renaissance would lend itself ideally to such a study. Fashion has to do with psychology and sociology, with classes, with economic and political conditions, with manufacture, and, particularly, with commerce and the habits and routes of trade.

If so large an undertaking as any of those above mentioned were to be begun, it would be necessary that those who undertake it should thoroughly agree and thoroughly understand the thing to be done and the points of view to be adhered to. Other groups of scholars are at work on the Renaissance, and their activities must be taken into consideration if we decide upon some undertaking. Also there must be effected an organization by means of which materials may pass from the hands of one scholar to those of others, and the duties of a general editor must be carefully charted. I should personally favor a large undertaking which would give employment to many scholars and would associate English and modern language and classical scholars together in the same tasks.

Immediately and practically, the committee recently appointed by the Central Division, with the assistance of other groups, might

²¹ Many new and suggestive points of view are to be found in Wyld, H. C., *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, London, 1920.

select and organize projects such as those mentioned above; and, if it became known that such subjects were available for study, competent workers might be found. At any rate, information relative to available collections of Renaissance materials in this country, both in original form and in rotograph, should be obtained at once; and, if not published, at least kept on file at some central place, so that those desirous of obtaining such information may write and find out what is most available for their needs.

A HANDLIST OF LATIN CLASSICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

By SEYMOUR DE RICCI

18 rue Boissière, Paris.

Mediaeval Latin manuscripts are not frequently met with in the United States. They are, however, far more numerous than is generally believed, and the reason they are so little known is chiefly the scantiness of any printed information concerning them. The only American library which has printed a list of its manuscripts is the library of the University of Chicago. Of the fine collections in the New York Public Library, at Harvard, and at Cornell, there do not exist satisfactory catalogues even in manuscript. The same applies of course to the numerous and extensive private collections, so that it is quite impossible for a scholar to ascertain, without endless inquiries, how many manuscripts of Juvenal or of Ovid are available for study in America.

The following rough list merely contains extracts from my notebooks, tabulating the codices of the Latin classics which I had occasion to inspect in the course of four trips to America, since the year 1918.

My list does not claim to be exhaustive and I may at once suggest as likely to contain similar manuscripts the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Library of Congress (where earlier and later manuscripts are filed together, much to the student's distress), the Library of the Hispanic Society, the Library of Columbia University, as also several private collections which I have not examined, notably the libraries of A. Chapin, of New York, and Dr. Terry, of Newport.

However, as the first list of the kind to be published, I have hopes that it will induce students to report in these pages on manuscripts omitted by me.¹

May I observe that I have ventured to include, although unable to state their present location, a few manuscripts of which I have found the description in American sales catalogues of the last twenty years. It is to be presumed that nearly all of these are

¹ See the note by Professor Ullman, *infra*, p. 109.

still in the United States, and that their inclusion in this list may lead to their discovery or rather recovery.

It would be ungrateful on my part not to thank here all the librarians and collectors who have generously allowed me to make notes from their shelves. Sufficient be it to state that in no place was the slightest restriction placed on my researches.

CAESAR

Opera. Baltimore, Md., Henry Walters collection. Vel. (XIV c.), 244 ff. Written in Italy. Given by a Verona Canon named Francesco Maffei, to the Canons regular of San Lionardo, at Verona. From the libraries of Joseph Barrois (No. 93) and the Earl of Ashburnham (London, 1901, No. 90).

CICERO

Rhetoricorum ad Herennium Libri IV. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 37. Vel. (XV c.) Written in Italy. Belonged in 1440 to Zusto Venier (at Venice?).

— Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 28. Vel. (ab. 1400), 45 ff. Wanting 2 ff. From the library of G. Libri (London, 1859, No. 255) and Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 16298).

De Oratore libri III; Partitiones Oratoriae. Tuxedo Park, N. Y., William M. Clearwater collection. Vel. (XV c.), 140 ff. Written in Italy. From the libraries of Herman C. Hoskier (London, 1908, No. 674) and Walter T. Wallace (New York, 1920, No. 228). Probably identical with a manuscript sold at Merwin-Clayton's (New York, May 25, 1905, No. 132) wrongly stated to have come from the Sunderland library.

De Oratore libri III. San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (XIV c.), 110 ff. From the Mark P. Robinson sale (New York, Feb. 26, 1918, No. 116).

De Oratore, Orator, Brutus. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 2. Vel. (XV c.), 236 ff. Written in Italy. Given by President Andrew D. White, who had obtained it in 1886 from Maisonneuve, of Paris. This manuscript was copied by Alesius Germanus from the lost manuscript of Johannes Lamola, according to a remarkable colophon published by Th. Stangl, *Cicerofund Charles L. Durhams*, in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, XXXIII (1913), col. 829-832 and 860-864; cf. B. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* (Catania, 1914), pp. 144-145.

Tusculanae Quaestiones. San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (XV c.), 85 ff. With the arms of the Erizzo family (of Venice) on the title. From the libraries of William Morris (London, 1898, No. 365) and Robert Hoe (New York, 1911, I, No. 2122).

— Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Norton 1003. Vel. (XV c.). Written in Italy by Antonio Torrigiani. From the library of Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1883, No. 28). Obtained in 1885.

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RIVERSIDE

- Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 27. Vel. (XV c.), 70 ff. Imperfect at end. Written in Italy.
- Sale at Anderson's (New York, May 24, 1909, No. 281) Vel. (XV c.), 129 ff. Written in Italy.
- Tusculanae Quaestiones, De Finibus, De Legibus.* Walter T. Wallace sale (New York, 1920, No. 229). Vel. (XV c.), 204 ff. Bought from Olshki (Venice, 1894) by Edward Robinson, who gave it to Henry Poor (his sale, New York, Nov. 17, 1908, No. 799).
- De Finibus.* Preston A. Perry sale (New York, Apr. 21, 1908, No. 269). Vel. (XV c.), 111 ff. Wanting first leaf.
- De Natura Deorum.* S. K. Clevon (of Iowa) sale (New York, Apr. 12, 1915, No. 88). Vel. (late XV c.), 88 ff. Written in Italy.
- De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Officiis, De Amicitia, Paradoxa, De Senectute, De Academicis, Timaeus, Somnium Scipionis, De Legibus, De Fato.* New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Vel. (late XV c.), 272 ff. Written in Italy for King Mathias Corvinus. From the Library of Cardinal York at Frascati. See description in T. De Marinis, Catal. XII (1913), No. 10.
- De Officiis.* Boston, Mass., Public Library, G. 31. 84. Vel. (Nov. 5, 1440), 78 ff. Belonged (1519-1526) to the French family de Wassernas. Given in 1602 by Jean de Henri, seigneur de Jenvaux, to his grandson Maximilien de Jamblins, *dicitur* Doyon. From the libraries of Joseph Barrois (No. 200) and Lord Ashburnham (London, 1901, No. 130).
- Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Sumner 69. Vel. (XV c.), 129 ff. Written in Italy. Bought from Ellis.
- Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 5. Pap. (XV c.). Followed by *De Senectute*, etc. Given by President Andrew D. White.
- Sale at Anderson's (New York, Dec. 14, 1909, No. 410). Vel. (XIV c.), 48 ff.
- De Senectute, De Amicitia.* Tuxedo Park, N. Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV c.), 71 ff. Written in Italy. Contains *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*. From the libraries of G. Libri (London, 1859, No. 244), Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 16287) and Charles Butler (London, 1911, II, No. 1484).
- Paradoxa, De Senectute, De Amicitia.* Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 3. Vel. (XIV c.), 123 ff. Partly palimpsest. Contains: ff. 1-24, *Paradoxa*; ff. 27-73, *De Senectute*; ff. 76-123, *De Amicitia*. From the libraries of Count Boutourlin (Paris, 1840, II, No. 325), Monmerqué (Paris, 1851, No. 2788), and Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1882, No. 38). Bought in Paris in 1886 by Prof. G. L. Burr for President Andrew D. White. Fully described by George Reeves Throop, *A New Manuscript of Cicero's De Senectute*, in *Classical Philology*, III (1908), pp. 285-301.
- De Amicitia, De Senectute, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis.* Sale at Bangs' (New York, Apr. 9, 1901, No. 19), resold, also at Bangs' (Nov. 18, 1901,

No. 21). Vel. (XV c.), 118 (or 116) ff. Written in Italy. Lacking some ff. at the beginning.

Epistulae Familiares, libri XVI. Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1911, I, No. 2121, bought by Clarke.). Vel. (XV c.), 218 ff. From the Royal Aragon Library at Naples. From the libraries of Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1878, No. 5) and Ricardo Heredia (Paris, 1892, No. 2793).

CLAUDIANUS

Raptus Proserpinae. New York Public Library, Vel. 96, Vel. (XV c.), 34 ff. Written in Italy. Given in 1878 by J. J. Astor.

De Statu Animae, libri III. Boston, Mass., Public Library, G. 31.66. Vel. (XI c.), 39 ff. Collated in 1609 by Andreas Schottus at St. Martin of Tournai. From the libraries of Joseph Barrois (No. 97) and Lord Ashburnham (London, 1901, No. 196).

COLUMELLA

De Re Rustica. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Vel. (1469), 185 ff. Written by Henriettus Roffinus de Murialdo. Belonged at an early date to the Caretto and Sandri families. From the libraries of the Duke of Hamilton (London, 1889, No. 50), Charles Butler and Richard Bennett (No. 109).

CORNELIUS NEPOS

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 41. Vel. (XV c.), 98 ff. Written in Italy. Imperfect. From the library of Sir Edward Dering (London, 1858, No. 1603) and Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 14948).

EUTROPIUS

Boston, Mass., T. F. Richardson collection, 18 (loaned to the Boston Museum). Vel. (XV c.). Written in Italy. Contains *Eutropius; excerpta ex Demosthene de Alexandro Magno; S. Basilii epistola ex versione L. Aretini.*
Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 8. Pap. (XV c.), 135 ff. At the end, a formulary. Given by President Andrew D. White.

FLORUS

William H. Buckler (of Baltimore, Md.) sale (New York, Dec. 3, 1908, No. 270). Vel. (XV c.), 200 ff. Stated to contain: *Leonardus Aretinus, Lucius Florus, Epistolae Plutarchi.*

HORATIUS

Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago, 27 (acc. 241962). Pap. (XV c.), 131 ff. Book plate with mottoes *tria juncta in uno; at spes non fracta.*

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Sumner 70. Pap. (XV c.). Written in Italy. Belonged to Leonardus Aretinus (?), Cardinal Torquemada (?), Juan de Aillon (?), Don Rafael Floranes Robles y Encinas, and Don Felipe de Soto, who gave it to the Marquis de Morante (his sale, Paris, 1872, No. 762).

Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1911, I, No. 2143; bought by Walter Hill, of

Chicago, Ill.) Vel. (XV c.), 141 ff. Written in Italy. Belonged ab. 1500 to Marcantonio Morosini. From the library of Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1878, No. 12).

Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1912, III, No. 2080.) Vel. (ab. 1500), 149 ff.

JUSTINUS

S. K. Clevon (of Iowa) sale (New York, Apr. 12, 1915, No. 262). Vel. (XV c.), 116 ff. Written in Italy. From the library of Giannozzo Manetti († 1459) and G. Libri (London, 1859, No. 558.)

JUVENALIS

Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago, 29. Vel. (1441), 98 ff. Written at Florence. Early owner: Węglewski Zygmunt. Obtained from Calvary.

Tuxedo Park, N. Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (1458), 82 ff. Written at Naples *pro clero viro Jacobo Ezimeno regio quaestore*. Belonged about 1800 to Don Miguel José de Olasso y Zumalave.

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lp. 15.2.4. Vel. (XV c.), 120 ff. Manutius' arms on the fly leaf. Given to Morris H. Morgan by Daniel B. Fearing (Rome, 1904).

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lp. 15.2.3. Vel. (1471), 96 ff. Written in Italy. Contains also Persius. From the libraries of Rev. Henry Drury (bound for him in 1821 by C. Lewis; his sale, London, 1827, No. 2124) and Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1881, No. 8); sold at Sotheby's (London, June 20, 1900, No. 72). Given to Morris H. Morgan in 1901 by Daniel B. Fearing.

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 40. Vel. (1462), 77 ff. Written at Bologna. Belonged in the XVII c. to Jean Bondieu, of Salins. From the *Bibliotheca Billiana*, Thorpe's Catal., 1836, No. 735, and the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 9174). Obtained from Quaritch (Rough list 164, No. 104).

Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 4. Vel. (XV c.).

Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1911, I, No. 2147, bought by Clarke). Vel. (XV c.), 83 ff. Written by Angelus for Bernardinus. Contains also Persius.

Brayton Ives sale (New York, 1891, No. 636). Vel. (XV c.), 65 ff. Written in Italy. From the libraries of Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1878, No. 19) and T. Shadford Walker (London, 1886, No. 233).

LIVY

New Haven, Conn., Yale University, Vel. (ab. 1480), 336 ff. (*Libri I - X*). Written in Italy. Brought from Palermo by Dr. Anthony Askew; bought at his sale (London, 1785, No. 482) by Sir William Burrell; (his sale, 1796, No. 657); bought at White's sale (1798) by Michael Wodhull and at Wodhull's sale (London, 1886, No. 1570) by William Loring Andrews, who gave it to Yale in 1894.

LUCANUS

Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago, 33. Pap. (XV c.), 146 ff. Obtained from Calvary.

New York Public Library, Pap. (XV c.), 104 ff. Imperfect at end (contains *Phars.* I, 1 - IX, 170). From the library of Pope Pius VI. Given in 1885 by J. J. Astor.

San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (XIII c.), 72 ff. Contains only seven books. From the library of Charles J. Groves, (New York, Dec. 12, 1917, No. 298).

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Sumner 71, Vel. (XV c.). Written in Italy.

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Norton 1004. Pap. (1467). From Thorpe's Catal., 1836, No. 806 and the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 9012). Obtained in 1904.

MANILIUS

Astronomica (followed, ff. 87-110, by Serenus Sammonicus, *In Morbis.*) Boston, Mass., Public Library, G. 38.46. Vel. (1461), 110 ff. Written at Ferrara by Peregrinus Allius. From the libraries of Cardinal Grimani, Pierre Pithou, the Rosny sale (Paris, 1837, No. 2426), Joseph Barrois (No. 343) and Lord Ashburnham (London, 1901, No. 376).

MARTIALIS

Epigrammata. Boston, Mass., Public Library, G. 31.82. Pap. (July 25, 1453), 150 ff. Written in Italy. From the libraries of Joseph Barrois (No. 496) and Lord Ashburnham (London, 1901, No. 380).

—Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1911, I, No. 2149). Vel. (XV c.), 194 ff. Written in Italy for an archbishop of the Magalotti family. From the library of Robert S. Turner (London, 1888, I, No. 1952).

OVIDIUS

Ars Amatoria, Remedium, Heroïdes, Amores. San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (XV c.), 203 ff. Written in Italy. Given by Domenico Seglia to Agostino Amadeo. From the libraries of Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1881, No. 7), Baron Seillière (Paris, 1890, No. 1221) and Robert Hoe (New York, 1911, I, No. 2169).

Heroïdes. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 18, Vel. (Aug. 15, 1416). Written by Niccolò Ser Gerini, of Castelfranco Superiore, and by his pupil Bartolomeo di Lorenzo da Figlimo. From the library of Matteo di Giovanni Foresi da Bibbiena.

Opera. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 42. Vel. and Pap. (XV c.), 321 ff. Partly palimpsest. From Thorpe's Catal., 1836, No. 929, and the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 9045). Obtained from Quaritch (Rough list 164, No. 128).

Heroïdes. Dr. Leonard J. Gordon sale (New York, Apr. 26, 1905, No. 691). Vel. (XV c.), 84 ff. Written in Italy.

PERSIUS

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lp. 15.2.2. Pap. (XV c.). From Thorpe's Catal., 1836, No. 991, and the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 9618). Given to Morris H. Morgan in 1904 by Daniel B. Fearing. See also under Juvenal (Harvard, Robert Hoe sale).

PLAUTUS

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 43. Pap. (XV c.). Written in Italy, by Pietro Cennina. From the libraries of Lord Guildford and Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 6332). Described in Cochran's Catal., 1829, No. 349.

PLINY

Historia Naturalis. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, B. 6. Vel. (XIV c.), 146 ff. Contains *Hist. Nat.*, III - VI. Given by President Andrew D. White.

PLINY (the Younger)

Epistolae. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University. Vel. (XV c.). *Epistolae* I-VII and IX. Obtained from Hoepli (Cat. 1893, No. 113). Cf. Dora Johnson, *Classical Philology*, VII (1912), p. 73.

—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Vel. (VI c.), 8 ff. A priceless fragment of the only early manuscript of Pliny's Letters. From the library of Marchese Tacconi, Naples. Cf. E. A. Loew and Edward K. Rand, *A Sixth Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger. A Study of Six Leaves of an Uncial Manuscript Preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York*, Carnegie Institution, 1922.

PRISCIANUS

Præcepta, libri XVI. San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (XIV c.). From the library of the Earl of Ellesmere, Bridgewater House, London.

Grammatica. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 44. Vel. (XII c.), 213 ff. Incomplete at beginning and end. Formerly in a Benedictine monastery. Sold by Boyez to Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 2974). Obtained from Quaritch (Rough list 164, No. 139).

SALLUSTIUS

Catilina, Jugurtha. San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (XV c.), 118 ff. From the library of Henry Poor.

—Tuxedo Park, N. Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV c.), 133 ff. Written in Italy about 1470. From the library of Henry Allen.

SENECA

Tractatus Varii. Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago, 42. Pap. (XV c.), 16 ff. Ff 1-7, *Pseudo-Seneca de IV Virtutibus*; ff. 7-12, *Eiusdem de Remediis*; ff. 12-16, *Ex epistolis Senecae*.

—Sale at Anderson's (New York, Dec. 4, 1903, No. 399). Vel. (XV c.),

222 ff. Contains: *Epistolae ad Lucilium*, *De Remediis*, *De IV Virtutibus*, *De VII Liberalibus Artibus*, *De Verborum Copia*, *Declamatio ad Novatum*. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

Tragoediae. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 47. Pap. (1432), 219 ff. Written in Italy. From the libraries of Rev. Henry Drury (London, 1827, No. 4060), Thorpe's Catal., 1836, No. 1153, and Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 9463). Obtained from Quaritch (Rough list 164, No. 158).

SERENUS SAMMONICUS

See under Manilius.

SUETONIUS

De Vita Caesarum. Baltimore, Md., Henry Walters collection. Vel. (XV c.), 112 ff. Written in Italy. From the library of Brayton Ives (New York, 1891, No. 640).

—Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1912, II, No. 2511). Vel. (1433), 168 ff. Written by Milano Burro.

—Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1912, II, No. 2512). Pap. (XV c.), 121 ff.

TACITUS

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, L. 25. Vel. (XV c.), 116 ff. Contains various Greek classical treatises in Latin translations by Leonardus Aretinus and Binuccius. Contains also (ff. 32-51) Tacitus, *Germania* and (ff. 104 v-109 r) Palladius, *De arte insitionis*, Ovid. *Her.* XXI, 1-144, etc. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 6748). Obtained in 1902 from Quaritch. Fully described by E. K. Rand, *A Harvard Manuscript of Ovid, Palladius and Tacitus*, in *American Journal of Philology*, XXVI (1905), pp. 291-329. Cf. Dean P. Lockwood, *De Binuccio Aretino Graecarum Litterarum Interprete*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XXIV, p. 84.

Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1912, II, No. 2513). Vel. (XV c.), 218 ff. Contains *Annales* XII-XVI and *Historiae* I-V.

TERENTIUS

Tuxedo Park, N. Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (1448), 157 ff. Written at Naples. From Thorpe's Catal., 1836, No. 1262, and the libraries of Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 9381) and George Dunn (London, 1914, II, No. 1642).

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 45. Pap. (XV c.), 192 ff.

Robert Hoe sale (New York, 1912, II, No. 2515). Vel. (XV c.), 108 ff. From the library of Michael Wodhull (London, 1886, No. 2489).

TIBULLUS

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 46. Vel. (XV c.), 48 ff. Written in Italy. From the libraries of Rev. Henry Drury (bought in 1821; his sale, London, 1827, No. 4294) and Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 3385). Purchased in 1897 (Quaritch, Rough list 164, No. 168).

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

- Memorabilia*. San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (late XIII c.), 126 ff. From the library of Charles J. Groves (New York, Dec. 12, 1917, No. 441).
- Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Lat. 48. Vel. (XIV c.), 124 ff. From the libraries of the Jesuits of Agen, Marie-François Duchesne (1778) and Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 2714).
- Herschel V. Jones sale (New York, Nov. 20, 1916, No. 365). Vel. (XV c.), 140 ff. Written in Italy.

VEGETIUS

- De Re Militari*. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 364. Vel. (XV c.), 116 ff. Belonged at an early date to the Gradenigo family. From the library of the Duke of Hamilton (London, 1889, No. 17).
- Boston, Mass., Public Library, G. 38.21. Vel. (XV c.), 70 ff. Written in Italy. From the libraries of Joseph Barrois (No. 102) and Lord Ashburnham (London, 1901, No. 599).
- Mulomedicina*. Brooklyn, N. Y., William A. White collection. Vel. (ab. 1470), 148 ff. Written for Ferdinand I of Aragon-Naples by Hippolytus Lunensis. From the libraries of Rev. Henry Drury, P. A. Hanrott (London, 1834, IV, No. 1451), A. Beresford Hope and Alfred Higgins (London, 1904, No. 242). Purchased in 1905 from Quaritch.

VERGILIUS

- San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (XIII c.), 107 ff. Contains only *Aen.* IV-XII. From the library of Charles J. Groves (New York, Dec. 12, 1917, No. 443).
- San Gabriel, Cal., Henry E. Huntington collection. Vel. (early XV c.), 206 ff. Written in Italy. Contains *Georgica* and *Aeneis*. From the libraries of William Morris (London, 1898, No. 1194) and Ross C. Winans.
- Baltimore, Md., Robert Garrett collection. Vel. (XIII c.), 124 ff. *Aeneis* only. The first three leaves are in a later (XIV c.) hand. Obtained from Quaritch (Cat. 211, 1902, No. 34).
- Baltimore, Md., Robert Garrett collection. Vel. (IX c.). Two leaves only, containing *Aen.* VII, 250-361. Obtained in 1897.
- Princeton, N. J., Princeton University. Vel. (XV c.). Written in Italy. Belonged (about 1540?) to the celebrated Italian collector and art critic Marco Michiel. Given by Junius S. Morgan.
- Princeton, N. J., Princeton University. Pap. (1474). A close copy of one of the great Virgil codices. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (No. 4585, bought from Payne). Given by Junius S. Morgan.

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

By B. L. ULLMAN

University of Iowa

It is perhaps somewhat humiliating to American scholars that a visitor to this country, M. Seymour de Ricci, has taken the initiative in remedying a defect that we should have corrected long ago. To be sure, many of us have no doubt had the thought, as I have myself, of making some such collection as M. de Ricci has started, but it remained for him to take the first step. Spurred on by his example, I intend to publish addenda from time to time to his list of manuscripts of the Latin classics (using the term in the widest sense to include such late writers as are discussed in the histories of Latin literature by Teuffel and Schanz), and perhaps later to list Latin manuscripts containing mediaeval and Renaissance works. I am well aware of the difficulties. Readers of this note are requested to inform me of any libraries or individuals who possess Latin manuscripts or who they believe might possess some. It goes without saying that any detailed information will be welcome.

BODMER AS A LITERARY BORROWER

By C. H. IBERSHOFF
University of Iowa

In a previous article I have dealt at some length with Bodmer's indebtedness to Milton as revealed by a somewhat critical examination of his *Noah*.¹ Incidentally I there expressed the view that before undertaking his biblical epic, Bodmer probably provided himself with excerpts, not only from Milton, but also from the writings of others; this conclusion, which differs from that of Hirzel, Cholevius, Baechtold and others, I hope to justify in the course of the present discussion.

In the famous literary feud between Gottsched's Saxon coterie and the Swiss group, Bodmer maintained a firm stand and proved himself a determined fighter. The controversy was by no means a mere skirmish, but an important, prolonged conflict of opinions and ideals, and was fought out to a decisive issue, which was nothing less than the complete discomfiture of the erstwhile literary leader Gottsched, who, because of his too prosaic nature, was prone to overemphasize reason in the matter of poetry at the expense of free, creative imagination. In this memorable war of authors in defence of their conceptions of the nature and principles of poetry, Bodmer's admiration for a work of the imaginative type and poetic distinction of *Paradise Lost* stood him in good stead and helped to school and fortify his judgment, for, as Schiller says,

Ein groszes Muster weckt Nacheiferung
Und giebt dem Urteil höhere Gesetze.

Thoreau, as I recall, somewhere gives expression to a similar thought when he declares, "Anything that fairly excites our admiration expands us." And, it may be added, there appears to be the working of a psychological law in the further fact, also referred to in Schiller's lines, that one naturally imitates what one sincerely and habitually admires; small wonder, then, that when Bodmer later launched forth upon his *Noah*, he should have imitated both the *Paradise Lost* of Milton and the *Messias*

¹ *Bodmer and Milton*, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. XVII, (1918) pp. 589-601.

of the Miltonizing Klopstock—epics for which he had a profound admiration.

Bodmer's borrowings from Milton began long before he undertook or even conceived his *Noah*; in other words, the first influence of Milton upon him antedates by over twenty years the appearance of the first cantos of Klopstock's *Messias*. In the work *Von dem Einfluss und Gebrauch der Einbildungskraft* (1727) which he wrote in collaboration with Breitinger, we find, for example, a reference to a "Wald-Theater" which is none other than Milton's "woody theatre" as pictured in the following passage in *Paradise Lost*:

So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,
As with a rural mound the champaign head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied; and over-head up grew
Insuperable heighth of loftiest shade.
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A silvan scene; and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. (IV l. 131 ff.)²

Franz Servaes in his *Die Poetik Bodmers und Breitingers* refers to this "Wald-Theater" without, however, suspecting its origin; nor is he aware that the illustrative passage of some twenty lines which he cites in this same connection is nothing more or less than virtually Bodmer's translation of various borrowings from *Paradise Lost*. Other works of Bodmer, I may add, likewise show Miltonian reminiscences; this fact, taken in conjunction with evidence presented in my previous article and with a mass of further testimony to be referred to below, shows us to what a surprising extent he was under the spell of Milton, the author who was to him a veritable cult—a cult which had both a poetic and a religious basis.

Though indispensable for a just estimate of Milton's influence on the *Noah*, a record of Milton-Bodmer parallels has hitherto been unavailable. To supply this want, it was necessary to under-

² These same lines, as I hope to show elsewhere, left their clear mark also upon a passage in the *Noah*.

take a somewhat detailed study of Bodmer's epic with a view to determining the extent of his actual indebtedness to *Paradise Lost*. This I have done, and the results of my investigation have greatly exceeded my expectations. Indeed, it may prove somewhat disconcerting to those European scholars who have hitherto confidently regarded Klopstock's influence on the Bodmerian *Noah* as incomparably greater than Milton's,³ to learn that my examination of Bodmer's borrowings from Milton has yielded a mass of material comprising, together with my comment, some three hundred manuscript pages. For a general statement of the nature and variety of the parallels which I have gleaned, I refer the reader to my article, *Bodmer and Milton*.⁴ The unfailing influence of Milton, as I hope to show elsewhere, extends, without exception, through every one of Bodmer's twelve cantos; this fact alone, I am inclined to think, justifies one in pronouncing the *Noah* well-nigh, if not indeed altogether, unique in the annals of European literature. In this connection it may not be amiss to state that in addition to the great influence of *Paradise Lost* and the *Messias*, I have succeeded in tracing also minor influences of nineteen other literary works upon Bodmer's biblical epic.⁵

Though it is foreign to my present purpose to give a detailed presentation of my collected material, I feel that I ought, perhaps, to make one or two further summarizing statements for the purpose of giving at least a general idea of the true extent of Bodmer's indebtedness to Milton, his admired English master. Numerically this may be done by stating that his borrowings from *Paradise Lost* involve, not dozens or scores, but literally hundreds of Milton's lines, among them many of the most characteristic and significant. To state the case in another, perhaps more ef-

³ Cf. *supra* p. 600, where I refer, e. g., to Muncker's *Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock*. The author of the article on *Bodmer* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* refers to the *Noah* as "a weak imitation of Klopstock's *Messias*." This, to say the least, is an inadequate and misleading characterization of the epic.

⁴ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1918, pp. 589-601.

⁵ Cf. in this connection C. H. Ibershoff: *Dryden's Tempest as a Source of Bodmer's Noah* in *Modern Philology*, August 1917, pp. 54-61. The influence of Dryden's *Tempest* was by no means inconsiderable, nor was that of a number of other works. With regard to such sources, the expression "minor influences," as used above, is therefore to be taken in a relative, not in an absolute, sense.

fective, way: if all the Miltonian passages which Bodmer utilized for his *Noah* were to be deleted from *Paradise Lost*, that poem would not only be most sadly disfigured, but would be so deplorably reduced as to leave but a mere torso of the epic which we know as Milton's masterpiece.

In my previous article, I expressed my dissent from Franz Muncker's unqualified statement that Bodmer rated Klopstock "hoch über alle andern Dichter,"⁶ and in defence of my position I cited what I felt, and still feel, to be an altogether convincing passage from Bodmer's own writings, not to mention the extensive gleanings of parallels to which I have referred above. At another time I hope to deal with further pronouncements of Muncker regarding Bodmer and his *Noah*, such for example, as the following: "sein Werk (war) völlig nach dem Muster des Messias gebildet;" "der Einfluss, den Milton auf den Verfasser des Noah ausübte, blieb recht äusserlich;" "Klopstock verdrängte allmählich sogar Milton aus Bodmers Geiste;" "ausser der Erzählung des Sündenfalls (war) nur wenig im einzelnen nach Miltons Muster gebildet;" and finally, as compared with Milton's influence upon the *Noah*, he discerns an "übermächtigen Einfluss Klopstocks." It is interesting to compare these dicta with the following strikingly similar conclusions of Baechtold, "Die Form (i.e. of the *Noah*) war zunächst der Messiade nachgebildet. . . . Milton diente, auch nur äusserlich, in Einzelheiten, wie in der Erzählung des Sündenfalls und in der Gestaltung der Engel als Vorbild.'" After what has already been set forth in this and my previous discussion, I shall at this time content myself with merely adding that in a letter to Zellweger, dated March 13, 1750, we have it on the authority of Bodmer's own words—a personal confession, if you please—that it was his deliberate purpose to imitate in his epic "*the spirit of Milton* (and Homer)"; moreover, he expressly requests elsewhere that his *Noah* be not compared with the *Messias*, giving as his reason that his own epic is *human* whereas Klopstock's is *divine*. On still other points in the matter I take issue with Muncker and Baechtold, as I do also

⁶ Cf. the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1918, p. 600.

⁷ Cf. his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, p. 603.

with Gustav Jenny,⁸ but a further discussion, as already stated, I shall defer until another occasion.

In view of Bodmer's really amazing literary indebtedness to the prose and poetry with which his wide reading had acquainted him, it may be desirable to quote at this point what I am inclined to regard as a sort of veiled, or rather unconscious, confession of his own practice as a writer. The words in question which seem to give a clue to his most extraordinary method of poetic composition are the following: "Einer würde wenig ausrichten," he writes, "der sich vornähme, mit poetischen Gemälden auf die Gemüther anderer Leute zu wirken, falls er die Phantasie nicht vorher mit einem Vorrat solcher Bilder angefüllt hätte, welche, kunstmässig angebracht, tüchtig sind, in der Einbildungskraft der Hörer und Leser einen gewissen Eindruck seinen Absichten gemäss zu erwecken. . . . *Mancher hat zwar noch einen ziemlich groszen Vorrat von solchen aus hundert Büchern in seine Register zusammengeschrieben, aber es fehlet ihm an Verstand, sie in einer geschickten Ordnung und in gehörigem Masze, wie es Zeit, Ort, Absicht und Umstände erfordern, von neuem wieder zu verbinden.*" (Italics mine.)⁹ In view of this and other evidence already adduced, I find it impossible to accept Hirzel's statement, "Da sein (sc. Bodmers) Gedächtnis mit den Bildern und Metaphern aller Poeten ausgefüllt war, boten sie sich ihm ungesucht von selbst dar."¹⁰ Nor can I subscribe to Cholevius' position when he asserts, ". . . . in seinem (sc. Bodmers) Gedächtnis kreuzte sich eine Menge von epischen Fabeln und Historien. Aus diesem Chaos schöpfte er nun Altes und Neues, um eine ganze Geschichte der Menschheit an Noahs Arche anzuknüpfen."¹¹ How absolutely inconceivable that Bodmer's *memory* should have faithfully retained and then most accommodately yielded up, as required, such an amazing mass of diverse literary details, drawn from well-nigh all quarters of European literature, as we find disposed throughout the twelve cantos of his epic. My somewhat

⁸ I have in mind his *Miltons Verlorenes Paradies in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*.

⁹ Cf. *Kritische Betrachtungen über die poetischen Gemälde der Dichter*, (1741) pp. 3-4.

¹⁰ Cf. Mörikofer, *Die schweizerische Lit. des 18. Jahrhunderts*, p. 158.

¹¹ Cf. Cholevius, *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen*, Vol. I, p. 446.

critical examination of the *Noah* has convinced me that such an assumption is no longer tenable; and yet even Baechtold, when dealing with Bodmer and his work is content to refer to reminiscences "von denen das Gedächtnis des Dichters geradezu strotzte."¹² The error of European scholars in this matter—for error it undoubtedly is—may be accounted for, I suppose, from the fact that they had not before them the definite, tangible body of evidence—an amazingly extensive and varied body, I wish to repeat—upon which I base my dissenting but positive opinion.

In the hope that it may prove of interest, I shall here quote Bodmer's own words regarding his personal attitude toward the question of literary borrowing. "Es ist nicht ohne Verdienst," he writes, "einen Vers aus dem Orte, wo er gleichsam gewachsen war, herauszunehmen, und in einen andern Boden zu verpflanzen, wo er so gut als in seiner Geburtsstatt aufkömmt."¹³ And again, "Ich wollte nicht gerne, dasz in den Sachen des Witzes und Verstandes das Recht des Eigentums mit dem Ernst eingeführt würde, wie es in den Glücksgütern geschehen ist. Sollte niemand kein Recht auf einen Gedanken oder Einfall haben, als der ihn zuerst in Besitz genommen hat, was für ein kleiner Anteil bliebe denen übrig, die etwas späte in die Welt gekommen sind?"¹⁴ Thus our critic and borrowing poet.¹⁵

Detached from his own eclectic literary method, as exemplified in the *Noah*, these two expressions of opinion on the part of Bodmer might be regarded with considerable indifference; or rather, recalling the literary indebtedness, of one kind and another, of authors like Chaucer, Milton, Shakespeare, Dryden, Lessing, Wieland, Goethe and Schiller—to mention only these—one would willingly enough approve of Bodmer's position; but

¹² Cf. Baechtold, *Gesch. der deutschen Lit. in der Schweiz*, p. 607.

¹³ Quoted by Vetter in the *Bodmer Denkschrift*, Zürich, 1900, p. 360. Note Bodmer's implication of literal transposition — a practice to which he himself was habitually addicted, as I hope to show elsewhere.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹⁵ It was quite in keeping with these avowed views when, about thirteen years after the appearance of his epic, Bodmer requested a friend to lend him a volume from his library, naively adding, by way of explanation, that he was curious to see how often and how closely he had imitated its author in the *Noah*. (Cf. Josephine Zehnder, *Pestalozzi*, p. 467.) It must be admitted that his attitude toward literary loans was at least as frank as it was singular.

viewed in the light of the really astounding array of parallels which I have traced in his epic, the articles of his literary creed must needs assume, in our eyes, an aspect of well-nigh sublime naiveté. Indeed, are we not at once completely disarmed? Or following his example and letting Milton speak for us, are not we too

astonished, all resistance lost,

All courage

and, even like Satan's legions, quite ready to drop our all too "idle weapons?" And yet, in justice to Bodmer we shall do well, I think, to remind ourselves that the attitude toward literary borrowing and the literary working-over of other men's writings has only within a comparatively recent period undergone a more or less radical change. The literary practice—lest this fact be forgotten—which obtained among writers of the eighteenth and earlier centuries is no longer condoned; nay more, it is today positively frowned upon and even condemned outright. For, contrary to Bodmer's expressed hope, the idea of property in literary matter has, after all, irresistibly made its way—a change whereof our modern copyright laws are but one, though significant, symptom.

SPANISH USAGES AND CUSTOMS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AS NOTED IN THE WORKS OF LOPE DE VEGA

By F. O. REED
University of Wisconsin

Some French commentator on the works of Lope remarks that it is much easier to speak of Lope's grandeur and beauty than it is to understand him. Of the many difficulties which beset the student of Lope and his contemporaries, not the least is that of understanding the allusions to everyday usages and customs. To read Lope without some understanding of the social and economic *milieu* in which and of which he wrote would be something like the attempt of a resuscitated New England colonist to read a trade journal devoted to the automobile.

Although by the nature of his work Lope stands distinctly outside the long line of realistic literature which Spain has given to the world, he was too good a Spaniard not to see with his eyes and feel with his hands the world about him — and to him we owe a lasting debt for his contribution to our knowledge of the intimate life of Spanish society of every stratum in the seventeenth century, in addition to our indebtedness to him for his inexhaustible and inspired pen. The present article will have very little to say about the broad outlines of Spanish social ideals of Lope's time; very little about such commonplaces as the seclusion of Spanish women; very little about the point of honor which motivates so many plays, or about the religious and patriotic ideals of Spanish chivalry. On the contrary, attention will be given to such things as the frequency of chilblains, to the currency of popular jokes on the father-in-law — not the mother-in-law—to details of attire, to the use of artificial eyes and the material of which they were made, to the price of salt, to the gossip and news of the day, and other things of more concrete interest, gleaned from twenty or twenty-five of his four or five hundred extant plays — all that are left of the two thousand which flowed from the brain of this phoenix of genius.

The state of medical knowledge and its application was approximately the same in Spain as elsewhere in Europe. There are,

however, a few allusions which will not lack interest. The physician rode on a mule — sometimes a horse — and an indispensable part of his get-up was a housing for his mount long enough to sweep the mud of the streets (*Milagros del Desprecio*, II, xvi).¹

Striking is an allusion to faith cure in *Milagros del Desprecio*, I, xiii, where the servant tells his master, "With me in charge of your case, thou art a sick Christian who is being treated with faith — with thy mind in doubt, I can do nothing."

Bleeding was performed by the barber rather than by the physician (*Melindres de Belisa*, II, i). In connection with bleeding it will be interesting to note that, as a social custom, the friends of the patient called and inquired concerning the success of the operation and brought gifts (*Milagros del Desprecio*, I, vii).

As an example of the practice of disinfection it will be of interest to note that letters received from a contagion center were washed in vinegar (*Perro del Hortelano*, II, v).

Various allusions to artificial members show that certain usages of the present day are older than one might have thought. For example, artificial eyes are mentioned, made not out of glass, as is the custom now, but out of precious metals. We are even able to learn the cost—one of silver cost two silver reals (*Melindres de Belisa*, I, ii); one of gold, naturally, was more expensive, costing, in accord with its weight, a doubloon (*La mal Casada*, I, ii).

An artificial hand is mentioned in *Melindres de Belisa*, I, xii. Apparently the secret of attaching it firmly had not been discovered, as it is spoken of as likely to fall off at a careless motion of the arm.

False teeth are frequently referred to; judging from the words used, they were tied in (*Milagros del Desprecio*, II, ix). Artificial hair, it would seem, was applied with such skill by the fair sex as to defy detection (*Milagros del Desprecio*, III, i).

Of frequently mentioned maladies and their treatment, it will be enough to mention fever and syrup (*Milagros del Desprecio*, I, xii); chilblains, which are frequently alluded to and not as difficult to treat (*Mayor Imposible*, III, xxi); and malaria and

¹ All references are to the Rivadeneira edition.

gout, which are said to be the only two evils to which flesh is heir which permit of no cure (*Mayor Imposible*, I, i).

To mention two remedies of great virtue, we have iron (*steel* in Spanish), especially for young ladies who need a tonic in the spring (*Acero de Madrid, passim.*); and potable gold, which was supposed to build up the system and contribute to longevity. The latter was compounded by dissolving gold in *Humor* (*aqua regia*) to which vinegar was added, and finally brandy. After being distilled several times it should be set aside one month and taken in small doses (*Dorotea*, I, iv).

As will be evident to the readers of Don Quijote the mad-house was a real institution in the seventeenth century. In particular the one at Valencia was said to care for the insane with great cleanliness and attention (*Locos de Valencia*, I, i), although further description of the institution shows that it fell short of our idea of sanitation. In connection with this institution it will be of interest to learn that they had, once a year, a sort of tag day on which it was customary to visit the institution and make gifts to the patients, who were let out into the court, where they begged from the visitors (*Locos de Valencia*, III, ii). Incidentally it is mentioned that the plentiful supply of shackles in the institution was the bequest of a philanthropic old lady who left a sum of money for that express purpose.

The information about daily life afforded by Lope's plays is manifold, and the following instances are suggestive rather than exhaustive. As the climate of Madrid is hardly cold enough to furnish natural ice, and as the manufacture of artificial ice had not been invented, it was only to be expected that refrigeration was a late discovery. For this purpose snow was brought in from the mountains and buried in wells, where it congealed and made a very passable ice. We learn from the *Moza de Cántaro*, II, vii, that this snow-ice was not delivered to the houses, but that it was one of the duties of a housemaid to get it from the place of distribution. Of a more primitive but quite natural method of refrigeration we learn from *Esclava de su Galán*, I, v, that it was customary to hang meat out from the window bars to keep it cool. Ice-water was a real institution, or at least ice-cooled water, made by setting a copper vessel of water in a larger receptacle filled with snow (*Dorotea* I, iv). The name, *cantim-*

ploras, has reference to the process of cooling by moving the vessel about in the receptacle for the snow—the sound of which is compared to singing and weeping.

Details on servants and slaves are rich and varied: slaves, who were fairly common in the establishments of the wealthy, came from three sources; from India proper, from the New World, and from the North of Africa, and ranged in price from 500 to 1000 ducats (*Esclava de su Galán*, II, iv; *Flores de don Juan*, I, xiii). Not uncommon was it to brand a slave with the letter “s” and a nail (in Spanish, *s-clavo*) to make escape difficult, although we learn from *Melindres de Belisa*, II, vii, that such treatment made them harder to sell. Recalcitrant slaves were treated with a collar of iron about their neck from which hung a heavy rod; sometimes their feet were chained together (*Melindres de Belisa* III, xxi).

Sometimes the slave reached a position of great confidence and favor with his master: in *La Esclava de su Galán* we learn of a father, disappointed in his son’s conduct, who buys a slave to take his son’s place and to whom he intends to leave his property (II, iv). He is said in passing, Negro slaves were not greatly esteemed (*Esclava de su Galán*, II, iii), and trade in them is spoken of as something quite unworthy. The accomplishments of a good girl slave are singing, dancing, writing, reckoning, and preserve-making (*ibid.*, II, iv).

Servants are not omitted by Lope in his picture of contemporary life—a man servant (*La mal Casada*, I, i) receives twelve reals per month although he serves notice on his master that if the latter proposes to fall in love, the wages will have to be raised on account of the extra labor entailed in serving a lover. Lest this sum seem too small, let it not be forgotten that the servant never lost an opportunity to demand something extra on every possible occasion; such extras were commonly a pair of trousers (*ibid.*), a ring, or a gold chain. As the pinnacle of prosperity we learn that a woman looks forward to a household with a coach, four maids, two elderly duennas, and three manservants (*La mal Casada*, I, xiv). A wealthy widower (*Esclava de su Galán*, II, vi), on the other hand, is satisfied with a cook, a maid, a housekeeper and a man servant who also serves as coachman. As signs of wealth and independence we find men-

tioned a steward and a butler in *Los Milagros del Desprecio*, I, viii. As one or two duties of a servant which differ from those of the present day let us mention the custom by which the maid brings to the living-room a basin of water, a towel, and a pitcher for a young man to wash his hands (*Por la Puente Juana*, II, xii); there is no mention of soap, and the water is cold, not hot. The large fluted collars whose representation is familiar from the paintings of the time could not be put on by the wearer without the aid of a servant. For reasons of delicacy, however, even a girl slave objected to aiding in the process (*Melindres de Belisa*, I, xix). From *Si no vieran las Mujeres*, II, viii, we learn that in a ceremonious household the butler presented a letter or card on his knees to the lady of the house.

The reception or living room of a Spanish lady differed somewhat from those of modern times. The principal characteristic was the *estrado*, a part of the room, sometimes raised above the floor level, and sometimes surrounded by a balustrade. The floor was covered with oriental carpeting, and incense was burned to give the room an agreeable odor. To guard the proprieties four duennas, characterized as four old snakes, were on duty (*Si no vieran las Mujeres*, III, iv).

On the *estrado* were a couch and chairs, and a favored guest was invited to enter and sit down in intimacy with the hostess. Whether one can deduce or not that the common run of chairs were not well upholstered, it was customary to offer cushions along with the chairs (*Melindres de Belisa*, I, ii).

The ordinary calling refreshment was not tea or coffee, but a glass of water with sugar paste, which was also the proper remedy for a fainting spell (*Bizarrias de Belisa*, II, xi). Sugar and cinnamon were looked upon as delicacies (*Locos de Valencia*, I, viii). Preserves of cherry, quince, or pear are of frequent reference.

Clocks are often mentioned, although we learn that country people have never seen one (*Boba para los Otros*, I, vi). The painted clock as a jeweler's sign was apparently an institution in Lope's time (*Si no vieran las Mujeres*, III, xiii).

The door-knocker consisted not merely of the knocker proper with which we are all familiar, but existed also in a form which was turned in order to perform its function—apparently after

the type of the turning doorbell which lasted until the advent of the electric doorbell (*Premio del bien Hablar*, II, ii; *Bizarrias de Belisa*, III, iv. Incidentally, we learn from the first allusion that the bad boy's trick of smearing the door-pull was not unknown to Lope.

As one would expect, the day of the large store had not arrived, and we have various references to street vendors (*Moza de Cántaro*, II, xvi) of ninepins, chestnuts, dolls, marmalade, electuaries, preserves, sugar figures, flowers, rosettes, brandy, cinnamon, calendars, novels, and what not. Mention may also be made of the Oil Pedler of *Melindres de Belisa*, I, ii.

Washing was done at the river, and the girls or women stood barefoot in the water instead of kneeling on the bank (*Por la Puente Juana*, II, vi). We further learn that the wash girls amused themselves while at work with singing, dancing, and music (*Por la Puente Juana*, II, iii and iv; *Moza de Cántaro*, III, iii).

The high cost of living receives scant mention—the only item which is spoken of with terror being salt (*Moza de Cántaro*, III, x).

For artificial illumination we have the mention of lamps, candles, wax tapers, and, occasionally, torches.

Of the abundant references to clothing and toilet we must content ourselves with a few, and here, in general, with the oddities and details which are otherwise more difficult of understanding. In shoes the prevailing type for ladies of rank was the *chapín*, whose characteristic was the extremely high sole obtained by the application of various layers of cork. They were generally of other color than black except in the case of mourning, when they were black, as was the rest of the attire (*Discreta Enamorada*, III, iii). If anyone be interested in such *minutiae* as the measurements of shoe sizes, there are abundant data; five was a good average ladies' size, while three was very small. The mention of *fourteen* as a possibility for a lady's foot savors of hyperbole (*Hermosura Aborrecida* I, xvi). Of the maid's slipper, the *chánela*, we need say merely that it was without a heel. The custom of padding the stockings is mentioned in *La Moza de Cántaro*, II, iii. These were of various colors according to *Dorotea*, II, v: pearl grey, objected to by some as being too showy; green, which *Dorotea* herself finds as both in the best taste and of the fastest color; white as a suitable color to make the use of cotton

padding unnecessary; purple, which some one objects to as making one look like a bishop; even gold-colored ones were obtainable.

The skirts were broad and bright-colored, and a lady with her broad skirt is compared to a peacock spreading his feathers in *La Boba para los Otros*, I, xiv. In general, it was customary for a lady to be dressed for the day at ten in the morning (*Por la Puente Juana*, I, iv).

Ladies curled their hair, and used, as well, such an abundance of false curls that they had to be supported on a frame or rest (*Boba para los Otros*, I, xiv; *Moza de Cántaro*, II, vii).

Mourning then, as now, was black, but in *La Moza de Cántaro*, I, ix, there is mentioned an innovation of using short ribbons on the mourning toque instead of long ones.

Cosmetics seem to have been of frequent use, and we learn further that it was customary to prepare them at home (*Al Pasar del Arroyo*, I, vii). *Solimán* had been a favorite cosmetic in Spain since the days of *La Celestina*, and was used to whiten the face and hide its wrinkles. It was a paste of corrosive sublimate, and is objected to in *Dorotea*, V, ii, as ruining the complexion and eventually causing the loss of the teeth, as it well might. The favorite perfume used by persons of rank of both sexes was ambergris (*Si no vieran las Mujeres*, I, xi).

As expensive minor accessories of the toilet are mentioned mirrors, incense, and gloves (*Melindres de Belisa*, II, i), on which a young lady is said to be able to spend as much as a young man on lackeys and pages.

As a minor detail it may be mentioned in passing that the ordinary jewelry of the peasant and serving-maid class was a necklace of coral.

The games and amusements of the seventeenth century come in for their share of attention. Hawking and hunting were still aristocratic pastimes. In this sport ladies shared, and even handled firearms themselves (*Si no vieran las Mujeres*, I, i). Ladies also fished—with some one along to carry the pole and bait the hook (*Si no vieran las Mujeres*, II, i).

The popular amusement then, as now, was the bullfight, although it was held in a court-yard, and the windows overlooking were rented to the spectators (*Dorotea*, V, ii). The participants in the sport were not always professionals, but it was a common

diversion for even the nobles themselves. Another popular diversion was the reed joust, where slender poles were used instead of spears. This latter diversion was held on nearly any occasion of festivity, and many attended to see the gorgeous costumes of the participants rather than the sport itself (*Al Pasar del Arroyo*, I, v). In particular the reed joust was a regular part of marriage festivities; thus we see a young lady embroidering a green sleeve for her future husband for the happy day of their marriage (*Esclava de su Galán*, I, xii).

The fashionable game for young men was *pelota*, a sort of ball-game, and we learn of a wealthy young man of the day (*Las Flores de Don Juan*, I, iii) who leaves an order for his shoemaker to take his measure at the game where he is going in the afternoon. Billiards are occasionally mentioned (*Esclava de su Galán*, III, vi; *Moza de Cántaro*, I, x). We learn further from the first allusion that the table had no cover, and that the cues were as big as outhouses, an exaggeration, of course.

Extremely widespread in all circles, high and low, was card playing and, as mentioned, always for a stake, not necessarily money (*Moza de Cántaro*, I, x). The shop of the almond-paste vendor where money or nougat was the stake seems to have been a favorite rendezvous for gamesters of lowly estate (*Moza de Cántaro*, II, xvi). Dice as well as cards were used for gaming even among men of rank and birth. It was quite possible then as now to ruin oneself by gambling, as is seen by the whole plot of *Las Flores de Don Juan*.

An interesting custom connected with gaming was the giving of a certain percent of one's winnings to any spectator who happened to be present, especially if he had shown interest in the winner's play; indeed it was so customary that the spectator calmly asked for it if it was not forthcoming. If we may believe *el Premio del bien Hablar*, II, ii, the player, finding this species of beggar importunate, sometimes threw the candle-stick at him. The references in Lope on this point do much to clear up the situation in *Don Quijote*, II, xlix, in which the *baratero*, as he was called, was about to take by force from the player a suitable amount—a passage which might easily pass for an exaggeration or for merely a hypothetical case for poor Sancho to try his brains on (cf. also *Las Flores de Don Juan*, I, vii).

As interesting details of gaming be it mentioned that the 'flush' was known to Lope (*Milagros del Desprecio*, III, xi), and that the card known as the five of gold (five of moneys) was a face-card (*Esclava de su Galán*, III, xi). Playing cards were apparently dear, and we learn from *Mayor Imposible*, I, iv, that old packs were kept to mend others with.

As to the amount of stakes played for, we learn from *Las Flores de don Juan* that a very profligate young man was in the habit of playing for a doubloon a point—a practice which brought him speedily to bankruptcy.

Bowls are frequently mentioned (e. g., *Esclava de su Galán*, III, vi), even golf (*ibid*). Chess was of course played, and references to it are numerous. Fencing is recommended as a desirable exercise for all in *La Esclava de su Galán*, III, vi, while hunting is spoken of as a sport suitable for kings but not for the ordinary run of mankind.

An interesting citation on dancing is afforded by *Dorotea*, I, vii: "The world is all going to the bad with this new style of poetry, with five strings to the guitar, with which are disappearing the more dignified instruments as well as the good old dances, which are being replaced by these wild dances and movements of the present, all to the prejudice of the modesty and decorum of our sex."

If it be the place here to speak of the coach, it was in Lope's time an innovation which had taken Madrid by storm. Allusions to it abound on every hand, and Lope does not scruple to introduce it in *la Estrella de Sevilla*, the scene of which is laid in the thirteenth century, as well as in *Roma abrasada*, in the time of Nero.

A few allusions to legal customs and the enforcement of law and order will not be out of place. Dueling was not allowed, and was followed by prompt arrest (*Milagros del Desprecio*, I, ix). Torture was regularly used in order to extort confession, the most frequent form alluded to being that of the cord (*Esclava de su Galán*, III, xxiii). The public markets were provided with inspectors of weights and measures (*Premio del bien Hablar*, I, xii). According to *La Moza de Cántaro*, III, vi, pardon for murder before the trial was not hard to obtain, providing the friends or family of the victim withdrew their com-

plaint. From *Los Locos de Valencia*, II, vii, we learn that pictures of a criminal were copied and circulated in various cities to aid in his apprehension, very much as rogues' photographs are sent to police centers at the present day. From *Las Flores de Don Juan*, II, iii, we learn that the primogeniture entail could be sold.

A whole subject in itself would be contemporaneous common-places, topics of conversation, and incidental allusions. A few may perhaps be mentioned. The *Indiano* (not an Indian, but a Spanish American) comes in for abundant treatment. He returns to Spain, rich but stingy, with his ambition to acquire a government office in Madrid, merely as a matter of dignity—he is not supposed to need the money (*Moza de Cántaro*, II, iii). The daughter of an *Indiano* was supposed to have suitors in swarms (*Premio del bien Hablar*, I, i). A set of ironical instructions according to which the *Indiano* should live at Madrid will be found in *Dorotea*, II, iv. The father-in-law (not the mother-in-law) is the marriage bogey in Lope; to marry without one was as good as having a double dowry (*Esclava de su Galán*, III, xix; *Premio del bien Hablar*, III, i). Just as we have certain stock names for dogs, such as *Fido*, *Prince*, *Rover*, so the Spanish had *Melampo*, *Roldán* (*Al Pasar del Arroyo*, II, vi) and *Taurín* (*Si no vieran las Mujeres*, I, xii). If one be interested in such trifles, it was customary to toss dogs in a blanket at carnival time, or tie a bell or a guitar to their tails—a practice which goes our bad boy and his can one better (*Premio del bien Hablar*, II, i). Tuesday rather than Friday was the unlucky day (*Al Pasar del Arroyo*, III, iv). Tobacco is occasionally mentioned, and appears in *Bizarrias de Belisa*, III, xi, as a mock term of endearment.

The French are spoken of as crafty and deceitful (*Por la Puente Juana*, I, vi), and are thought of as always wearing spurs (*La Boba para los Otros*, II, vi). The Germans, in addition to a pleasantry or two here and there on their eating and drinking, are spoken of as gigantic in stature and constant in love (*Las Bizarrias de Belisa*, I, iii). Tailors used a thin piece of soap—not chalk—to mark cloth in their work (*Si no vieran las Mujeres*, III, vi). The well-to-do student had his fag (*La Esclava de su*

Galán, I, xiv)—sometimes both valet and page (*Melindres de Belisa*, II, i).

The mention of a pig had to be followed by an apology (*Esclava de su Galán*, I, xi), a custom at which Cervantes takes a sly dig in passing in *Don Quijote*, I, ii, "for they were pigs, without anyone's pardon." To put "a handle on" one's name was to "use a pin with it" (*Al Pasar del Arroyo*, II, xviii).

To close with a few remarks on the value of money: the real so frequently spoken of was not the five-cent piece of to-day but the "bit;" and the "piece-of-eight," known to readers of pirate lore of the Spanish main, is the piece of eight reals. A pound of mutton cost about two-fifths of a real, a pound of beef slightly less, ordinary table wine, one-sixth real a quart (*Dorotea* V, ii). In spite of this low cost of living, however, a young man of extravagant habits finds no difficulty in spending 22,000 reals in a single month (*Portuguesa y Dicha del Forastero*, I, xii).

In spite of the fabled wealth of Spain in the seventeenth century, with the galleons pouring in floods of gold and silver, we hear of no millionaires as measured in terms of dollars. As an extremely large dower, however, we have one mentioned at the conclusion of *El Premio del bien Hablar* of one hundred thousand ducats, or some two hundred thousand dollars. The sum most frequently mentioned as a dower is thirty thousand ducats (*Bizarrias de Belisa*, III, xii; *Melindres de Belisa*, II, i; *La mal Casada*, II, i). One of twenty thousand is mentioned at the end of *Por la Puente Juana*.

A prebend which pays five thousand ducats (ten thousand dollars) is sufficient even in the eyes of a rich father to discourage matrimony on the part of the son. An extremely wealthy father in *El Premio del bien Hablar* considers that he has done ample justice toward his eldest son in leaving him with an entailed income of ten thousand ducats.

These scattering remarks, gleaned from one-twentieth of Lope's extant plays, will give some idea of the amount and the kind of information that may be obtained from him, but in no way exhausts the material even in this limited number. In this author we have nothing short of a treasure house, an inexhaustible store of knowledge which will be illuminating alike to the historian, the economist and the student of literature.

WUDGA: A STUDY IN THE THEODORIC LEGENDS

By HENNING LARSEN

University of Iowa

The following paper will attempt to throw some light on the character of Wudga, one of the heroes mentioned in the catalogue of Gothic warriors, *Widsith* ll. 109 ff.:

“Thence I wandered through all the lands of the Goths: I ever sought the best of comrades: that was the household of Eormenric. Hethca I sought and Beadeca, and the Harlungs, Emerca and Fridela, and East-Gotha, sage and good, the father of Unwen. Secca I sought and Becca, Seafola and Theodoric, Heathoric and Sifeca, Hlithe and Ingentheow. Eadwine I sought and Elsa, Ægelmund and Hungar and the proud company of the With-Myrgings. Wulfhere I sought and Wyrnhere: there full oft war was not slack, what time the Goths with sharp swords must defend their ancient seat from the people of Attila by the Vistula-wood. Rædhere sought I and Rondhere and Giselhere, Withergield and Freothoric, Wudga and Hama: Not the worst of comrades were they, though I mention them last. Full oft from that company flew the spear, whistling and shrieking against the hostile folk. Wudga and Hama, wanderers o’er the earth, ruled there, by wounden gold, over men and women.”¹

In this list of Gothic heroes, two names—Wudga and Hama—are singled out for special mention. The poet says, “Nor were they the worst of companions though I mention them last.” To one familiar with early Germanic idiom, it is apparent that these heroes are of great consequence. They are “not the worst” *i. e.* they are of the best. The poet adds, “Wudga and Hama, wandering heroes,² there ruled, by wounden gold, over men and women.”

Who are these heroes? What did the reference to them suggest to the early English hearers? The passage quoted above is obscure because of its brevity. The story was, undoubtedly, too familiar to call for detailed exposition. Wudga and Hama are listed among the Gothic heroes. Are they followers of Eormenric? Do they take part in the battles on the Vistula? The poem gives no

¹ Chambers, B. W., *Widsith*, p. 218.

² O. E. *wraeca* may also be translated “exiles.”

answer. And, further, what does the poet mean by *wræccan*? Are Wudga and Hama *exiles* or are they *wandering heroes*? Either interpretation of the word is possible.

From *Widsith* alone these questions can not be answered. Other Old English sources offer only two passages that are helpful, and of these only one mentions Wudga.

. . . . A better sword
save only this, which I as well
have kept concealed in the stone-bright case.
I know Theodoric thought to send it
to Widia himself, with wealth of treasure,
of gold with that glaive, and gifts enow
precious: — So Widia was paid his reward
that the kinsman of Nithhad from cruel straits,
son of Wayland, saved his lord,
who journeyed fast from the giants' land.³

Wudga (or Widia), a valiant champion, receives reward for saving his master's, Theodoric's, life in giant domain. He is named the kinsman of Nithhad and the son of Wayland. This passage and the *Widsith* passage seem to have nothing in common.

The second passage is the well-known reference to Hama in *Beowulf*:

"I have heard of no better hord-treasure of heroes, under Heaven, since Hama carried away to the bright burg the Brosinga necklace, treasure and jewel; he fled the cunning hate of Eormenric, and chose eternal counsel (death!)."

Hama, the companion of Wudga, flees before the wrath of Eormenric. He plunders and carries his splendid booty to a fortified place. Does this explain the epithet *wræcca* in *Widsith*?

Old English sources evidently give no satisfactory explanation. We must, therefore, turn to other Germanic traditions, and first of all to the legends of Theodoric and Eormenric; for, so far, we have always found Wudga and Hama linked with these Gothic kings.

And here our search is amply rewarded. In the original Gothic sources two passages from Jordanes, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, sixth century, may refer to Wudga.

In the earliest times they [the Goths] sang of the deeds of their ancestors in strains of song accompanied by the cithara, chanting of Eterpamara,

³ *Waldhere B, Gummere, Oldest English Epic*, p. 169.

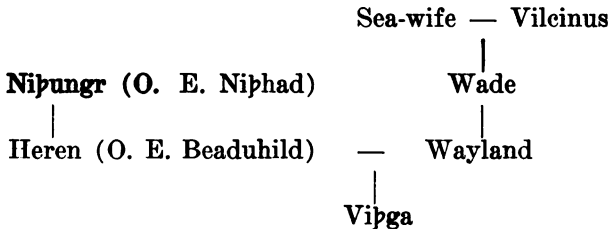
Hanala, Fritigern, Vidigoja, and others whose fame among them is greatest. Such heroes as admiring antiquity scarce proclaims its own to be.⁴

[Priscus, on an embassy from Theodosius to Attila] Crossing mighty rivers—namely, the Tisia, and Tibisia, and Dricca—we came to the place where long ago Vidigoja, bravest of the Goths, perished by the guile of the Sarmatians.⁵

The name Vidigoja corresponds to the English Wudga.⁶ Vidi-goja fell in the wars against the Sarmatians, that is, he is a Visigoth.⁷ If, then, he corresponds to Wudga, he must later have been transposed to Ostrogothic legend. Such transfer is quite possible; but that it actually happened we cannot prove.

In later, non-Gothic sources we find a vast amount of material with innumerable conflicting details. Certain similarities, however, justify us in classing these sources into two groups, the Scandinavian and North German forming one, the High German the other.⁸

The Scandinavian sources⁹ again form two groups, first, the *Thidriks Saga* (ThS), an Old Norse compendium based on German sources, written ca. 1250,¹⁰ and, secondly, the Danish heroic ballads. The ThS contains a long, coherent and well-developed account of Viþga's youth. This follows immediately upon the Wayland story. Examining the Wayland episode we get the following genealogy for Viþga:



ThS, Chap. 137 ff. relates:

Viþga, age 12, not desiring to learn his father's trade (smithcraft) asks

⁴ Mierow's translation, Chap. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 34.

⁶ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Vol. I, p. 359.

⁷ Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 293.

⁸ No North German documents have been preserved, but certain Scandinavian redactions are avowedly built on North German material.

⁹ Larsen, Henning, "Viþga in Scandinavian Hero Legend," *Scand. Studies and Notes*, 1920.

¹⁰ Bertelsen, *Þidriks Saga af Bern*, p. LVI.

for armor that he may set out to try his prowess against Þiprik of Bern. Valent finally consents and furnishes him with arms of his own making. First in importance is the sword Mimungr—one of the most famous blades of Germanic tradition. A coat of mail and a splendid shield are also furnished, and Viþga mounts the stallion Skemming, a full brother of Theodoric's Falke and Hama's Rispa.

Viþga's journey is full of marvelous adventures. On the way he meets the three Gothic heroes, Hildebrand, Hornbogi, and Heimir [O. E. Hama], who, after swearing Viþga friendship, serve as his guides to Theodoric's court. This is the first meeting in the saga between the boon-companions Viþga and Heimir. But in spite of oaths of friendship, Heimir twice on the journey plays Viþga false; this is the beginning of the strained relationship between Viþga and Heimir that characterizes the Scandinavian as opposed to the High German sources.

Viþga, upon his arrival at Bern, challenges Theodoric to single combat and defeats him, but through the intercession of Hildebrand the contest is stopped and Viþga pledges loyalty to Theodoric.

Through the saga's lengthy accounts of the deeds of Theodoric, we constantly meet Viþga, always brave, heroic, and noble, supporting his master in every way, even saving his life, and rising to such prominence as almost to outshine Theodoric himself. The many episodes can not even be enumerated here. In these same adventures Heimir also takes part, but not so honorably. Though sworn friend of Viþga, he several times betrays him, and only Theodoric's intervention saves him from Viþga's vengeance.

But a very important change in the position of Viþga comes in the latter half of the Saga. By marriage he becomes the vassal of Eormenric. The transfer is made with the consent of Theodoric. When, however, in later years, fierce strife begins between Eormenric and Theodoric and the latter is driven in exile to the court of Attila, Viþga warns Theodoric of the impending attack from Eormenric and then returns to the latter, whom he reproaches bitterly. Heimir, who now also follows Eormenric, is so violent in his reproaches against the king that he has to seek safety in flight. Heimir now lives an outlaw, harrying the land of Eormenric.

Viþga plays no further part in the Saga till Theodoric, with the help of Attila, returns and attempts to regain his kingdom. Viþga leads the wing of Eormenric's army opposed to the Huns. He slays the sons of Attila, and is then attacked by Thether, the young brother of Theodoric. Viþga is forced to slay Thether in self-defense. Theodoric, enraged by the news, seeks out Viþga to

gain revenge. For the first time we see Viþga afraid. Unable to face the fierce wrath of Theodoric, he turns his horse in flight and escapes by riding into the waters of the Mösula.

A late Swedish version of the saga reports that Viþga is received in the Mosle by his "father's father's mother," who bears him into Sealand. Here Theodoric later discovers him and, after stealing the sword Mimung, slays him. Theodoric himself is mortally wounded.

The Danish ballads, based on material similar to that found in the ThS, deal only with the early life of Theodoric, prior to the fusion with the Eormenric legends. They offer numerous minor divergencies in the Viþga story. In the ballads, even more than in the ThS, Viþga [or Vidrik] is extolled at the expense of his master. His German origin is almost lost sight of; in fact, in one ballad, *Kong Diderik og Holger Danske*,¹¹ where Diederik has become the exponent of Germanism and Holger represents Danish nationalism, Viþga is found among the followers of the latter.

The second group of sources, the High German epics, give a totally different interpretation of the character of Wudga, though many of the details of the legends are parallel to those of the Scandinavian sources. These songs are even farther than the ThS from the gaunt but powerful old Germanic songs. They do, nevertheless, throw light on the early traditions, and they give conclusive evidence of the lasting popularity of Wudga.

The principal Middle High German poems that add to our knowledge of Wudga (or Witege as he is now called) fall into two groups, the mythic-heroic and the historic. To the first belong the following: *Biterolf and Dietleip*, a 13th century Austrian poem, probably composed in Steiermark;¹² *Der Rosengarten zu Worms*, a mid-13th century poem preserved in three distinct versions, A, D, and F, of which A and F are Austro-Bavarian and D Alemannic;¹³ *Laurin*, or *Der Kleine Rosengarten*, mid-13th century Bavarian;¹⁴ *Das Eckenlied*, late 13th century Alemannic;¹⁵

¹¹ Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Vol. I, No. 17.

¹² Jänicke, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, Vol. I, pp. XXII, XXVIII.

¹³ Holz, *Geschichte des Rosengarten zu Worms*, and Boer, "Die Dichtungen von dem Kampfe im Rosengarten", *Ark. f. n. f.*, Vol. XX, pp. 103 ff. and 260 ff.

¹⁴ Paul, *Grundriss*, Vol. III, p. 639.

¹⁵ Zupitza, *DHB*, Vol. V, p. XL; Paul, *Grundr.* Vol. III, p. 640.

and *Virginal*, late 13th century.¹⁶ To the second group—historic—belong three important poems: *Alpharts Tod*, preserved in one 15th century manuscript, but probably dating from ca. 1250;¹⁷ *Dietrichs Flucht*, 13th or 14th century Austrian;¹⁸ *Die Rabenschlacht*, probably by the same author as *Dietrichs Flucht*. All these poems deal with legends of the Gothic kings Eormenric and Theodoric. Witege figures as the follower sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other. Several incidental references in other poems, as the *Nibelungenlied*, *Willehalm*, and *Meier Helmbrecht*, bear further evidence of Witege's wide popularity.

The first group, the mythic-heroic, recounts a long array of contests with giants and dwarfs. At times Witege goes forth alone, at other times with Heime. Little distinction is made between them. Both are fierce, cruel warriors, feared but not loved. An under-current of blame and suspicion prepares us for the characterization as faithless warriors found in the second group—the historic.

In this latter group (Austrian), Witege and Heime are typical examples of treachery and villainy—unfaithful to their old master Theodoric—false in all their warfare. To Witege is regularly given the epithet "der ungetriuwe."

Alpharts Tod best represents this group. A few lines from the beginning of the poem give the keynote of the whole:

. Daz kan ich sagen
was grozer ungetriuwe an dem Berner wart erhaben
Witege unde Heime die brachen Gotes recht
die beiden hergesellen.

The main episode of the poem is the encounter between Dietrich's scout, Alphart, and Eormenric's two followers, Witege and Heime. Alphart is finally overcome, but not till Witege treacherously attacks him in the back while Heime engages him in front. The poet constantly emphasizes Witege's baseness.

Dietrichs Flucht and *Die Rabenschlacht* deal with the exile and return of Dietrich. The episodes parallel those of the ThS, but, unlike ThS, DF and DR continually stress Witege's faithlessness.

The striking difference in the presentation of Wudga's character

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Martin, *DHB*, Vol. II, p. XXX.

¹⁸ Martin, *DHB*, Vol. II, p. LI; W. Grimm, *Die Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 186.

in the two groups of continental sources presents an interesting problem in the study of the development of the legends. The Scandinavian group consciously defends him in all places where his character is in question. The ballads, in fact, have gone a step further. They have entirely eliminated all the episodes in which he appears as "der ungetriuwe." The South German poems, though they all concede Wudga's bravery, stress his faithlessness. In fact, *Alpharts Tod* has this trait of Wudga's as a central motif.

The English sources of information are too brief to permit any final statement concerning their conception of Wudga's personality. They seem, however, to fall in with the Scandinavian sources. *Waldhere* certainly implies nothing against Wudga; and *Widsith* has nothing reprehensive except what can be drawn from the term *wræcca*.

What is then the original position of Wudga in heroic tradition? Can we trace the development that finally has given us the two divergent views of his character? I believe that to a certain extent we can.

The investigators who have treated Gothic legend have presented numerous schemes of reconstruction—all, however, colored by specific theories concerning Theodoric and Eormenric. None have, I believe, approached the subject with the main object of determining Wudga's place in tradition. If for a moment, however, we subordinate the two main figures of Gothic legend, we may reach better results than our predecessors.

W. Grimm, one of the earliest students of these legends, denies the Gothic origin of Wudga. He considers him a Northern hero who has been incorporated into the Theodoric cycle, and with Theodoric has later been joined to the Eormenric cycle. Müller, Müllenhoff, Heinzel, and more recently Jiriczek, consider Wudga identical with Vidigoja, early associated with Eormenric, and later with Theodoric. More recently R. C. Boer has denied the Gothic origin of Wudga, and has denied that the *Widsith* passage places Wudga in the array of Gothic heroes. He claims that Wudga, the giant-killer, of *Waldhere*, ThS, the Danish ballads, and *Der Rosengarten* represents the original hero.

Our starting point must be the *Widsith* passage. To me it seems merely quibbling to deny that Wudga here is considered a follower

of Eormenric. Our next source is *Waldhere*. Again evidence is in favor of classing Wudga as a Goth, for he is closely associated with Theodoric. Here, however, his descent from Wayland links him at a very early date with a well established North German cycle.

We have then at an early date Wudga figuring in North German versions of Gothic tradition, for *Widsith* also must be based on North German material. He is associated with both Eormenric and Theodoric, though the cycles dealing with these heroes are not yet fused. In all later traditions of the two Gothic kings Wudga is known; and in most he plays an important role. Therefore, if all *later* sources establish the relationship between Wudga and both the kings, there is no reason for explaining away the evidence of the earlier sources that affirm the same relationship.

Wudga plays, then, an important role in the two main Gothic cycles before their fusion. Later tradition made Eormenric and Theodoric bitter opponents—Eormenric the great epic type of the base and cruel ruler, Theodoric the exponent of faithfulness and justice. Then came the difficult task of explaining Wudga's appearance in the forces of both kings. The conscious and bungling efforts of the poets are evident. All sources agree on the change of his allegiance from Theodoric to Eormenric. But the hero who leaves the honorable Theodoric to serve the base Eormenric can hardly escape censure. Here we have, in all probability, the real beginning of his career as "der ungetriuwe." The Northern sources and the *Rosengarten* evidently strive to preserve Wudga's honor; the other sources have found in the episode a chance to develop his baseness. The two groups of sources have diverged farther and farther.

If, then, Wudga has independently entered both Gothic cycles and later undergone special development as a result of the fusion of these, the next question that presents itself is that of his origin. There are two possibilities: Either he is the Vidigoja of Gothic tradition or he is a hero of northern origin incorporated into Gothic legends during their development in North Germany. For the former speak, first, the identity of name, and, secondly, the fact that Wudga always is connected with the Gothic heroes. For the latter speak his association with Wayland, and the fact that all later sources class him as a foreign champion at

Theodoric's court. The term *wræcca* of *Widsith* is strong corroborative evidence.

A glance at the general movement of Gothic legend toward the North may be helpful. First, an early influx of Eormenric legends reached the North in time to be incorporated into the Eddas. The grimness of Eormenric is stressed—cf. *Hampismál* and *Guprunarhvot*—but his treachery toward Theodoric is unknown. Wudga is not mentioned. A second movement of Gothic legend, with Theodoric as the central figure, begins after the expulsion of the Goths from Italy in the sixth century. The remnants of the Goths, with their Alemannic allies, migrated to the territory north of Lake Constance. Here the past glories of the nation were developed in song. And from here the legends gradually spread toward the North and eventually reached England. Another movement of legend went from Alemannic territory into Bavaria and Austria, where Theodoric became a prime favorite. But we have no conclusive evidence that Wudga figured in this group.

We have one more clue to follow. Wudga is by *Waldhere*, and all later sources, called the son of Wayland. The Wayland stories are among the earliest Germanic legends, and they are of North German origin.¹⁹ If, then, Wudga appears in the early Wayland legends, we have clear evidence against his Gothic origin. But again we are foiled. Neither the first mention of Wayland in English sources—that in *Deor's Lament*—nor the first in Scandinavian sources—*Volundarkviða*—mentions Wudga. These sources have as a principal motive the violation of Beaduhild—Nithhad's daughter—by Wayland as vengeance for Nithhad's treachery. The son is not named; and the origin would ill suit an epic hero of Wudga's importance. The development that makes Wudga Wayland's son must, therefore, have come after the real significance of Wayland's and Beaduhild's relations are partly forgotten.

We have, therefore, no conclusive proof of Wudga's origin. The meagre evidence available, however, suggests that he is a Northern hero drawn into the other legends through the great cyclic tendency that dominates the last centuries of Germanic epic development.

¹⁹ Maurus, *Die Wielandsage*.

A PROLOGUE FOR VOLTAIRE'S ARTEMIRE

By GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK
University of Minnesota

After the failure of his tragedy *Artémire*, Voltaire withdrew the play and never allowed it to be printed, so that it is known only through a few fragments gathered by his editors.¹ For the first time the play confronted a hostile audience on February 14 or 15, 1720. Voltaire showed deference for public opinion, made some hasty changes in the criticized parts, and persuaded the actors—or, as he claims, allowed himself to be persuaded—to make with it one more bid for success, on the 23rd of February, 1720. For eight evenings, until March 8, the play was staged under favorable conditions, but the initial verdict of the public was not changed, and it finally disappeared amidst complete indifference.

This failure, of course, kept the wits of the time busy, the more because the phenomenal success of Voltaire's *Œdipe* had aroused the highest expectations. When the changed *Artémire* was performed on February 23, a manuscript *Prologue* was circulated, making merry with its lack of theatrical effectiveness. It seems to be a kind of parody of the first scene (Act I) of *Artémire*, in which she complains of her sufferings as the spouse of the cruel and suspicious Cassandre.² This *Prologue d' Artémire* has never been printed, and Voltaire's editors and bibliographers have neglected it,³ although a manuscript copy is mentioned in the *Catalogue Soleinne*.⁴ I reproduce here the short scene, with identification of some obscure allusions to contemporary celebrities and situations. The text is based on an eighteenth century manuscript in my possession, *Receuil de plusieurs Piesse (sic)*. This

¹ *Œuvres de Voltaire*, Ed. Moland, Vol. II, pp. 121-153.

² This *Prologue* is entirely different from the parody *Artémire* by Dominique played on March 10, 1720. Cf. *Les Parodies du nouveau Théâtre Italien*, 1733, Vol. I.

³ *Œuvres de Volt.*—Ed. Moland, Vol. II; Bengesco, *Bibliographie de Voltaire*, Vol. I; Desnoiresterres, G., *Voltaire et la société au XVIIIe siècle*, Vol. I, pp. 183 et seq.; Quérard, "Ecrits relatifs aux ouvrages et à la personne de Voltaire," *La France littéraire*, Vol. X, p. 363.

⁴ *Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleinne*, *Catalogue* by the Bibliophile Jacob, Vol. V, p. 450.

MS. contains 604 pages and can be dated about the end of 1734, since all the contemporary events alluded to in the poems and the satires, as well as the date of composition of the published poetry of the *Receuil*, are previous to that date.

Receuil de plusieurs Piesse, pp. 1-6:

Prologue d'Artémire, Tragédie représentée pour la première fois le 14 février 1720, et remise au théâtre le 23 du même mois.

Artémire:

N' allons pas plus avant; demeurons, ma Céphise;
J'ai peine à revenir de ma première crise;
Mes yeux sont éblouis du jour que je revois,
Et mes genoux tremblants se dérobent sous moi.
Hélas!

Céphise.⁵

Sifflet bruyant que nos pleurs vous apaisent!

Artémire.

Que ces situations, que ces crimes me pèsent.
O retour trop douteux, O rigoureuses lois,
On me veut voir tomber pour la seconde fois.
Tout m'afflige, me nuit, et conspire à me nuire.

Céphise.

Comme on voit tous ses vœux l'un l'autre se détruire!
Vous même chérissant des ordres si flatteurs,⁶
Tantôt à vous reprendre excitiez les acteurs;
Vous même rappelant votre force première,
Vous brûliez, disiez-vous, de revoir la lumière.
Vous la voyez, Madame, et prête à vous cacher,
Vous haïssez le jour que vous veniez chercher.

Artémire.

Arbitre souverain des succès du théâtre,
Toi qui fus de ma soeur partisan idolâtre;⁷
Fier et cruel auteur du trouble où tu me vois;
Par terre! Tu m'entends pour la dernière fois.

Céphise.

Quoi! Ne perdrez-vous pas cette cruelle envie,

⁵ Céphise is the *Confidente* of Artémire in Voltaire's play.

⁶ The mother of the *Régent* had expressed the desire that the play should be staged again, with some changes, after the failure of the first performance. Cf. Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 186.

⁷ Refers to *Œdipe*, played November 18, 1718.

Vous verrai-je toujours renonçant à la vie,⁸
 Vous même vous plongeant dans le fleuve d'oubli!

Artémire.

Dieux! Que ne suis-je encore enfermée à Sully!⁹
 Quand pourrai-je, arrachée à la mélancolie,
 A l'Hôtel de Bourgogne aller trouver Thalie!¹⁰

Céphise.

Quoi! Madame. . . .

Artémire.

Insensée! Où suis-je? Qu'ai-je dit?
 Où laissai-je égarer mes vœux et mon esprit?
 Le bruit des sifflements m'en a ravi l'usage,
 Céphise, la rougeur m'en couvre le visage!
 Je te laisse trop voir mes honteuses douleurs,
 Et mes yeux, malgré moi, se remplissent de pleurs.

Céphise.

Ah! S'il vous faut rougir, rougissez de la honte
 Dont vous allez couvrir une éclipse si prompte.
 Hylus, malgré son froid, prolongea plus son sort,¹¹
 Polidore tombé, veut survivre à la mort,¹²
 Ce Polidore. . . .

Artémire.

Ah! Dieux!

Céphise.

Ce reproche vous touche?

Artémire.

Malheureuse! Quel nom a sorti de ta bouche?
 Il me rappelle, hélas! un songe plein d'horreur,
 Dont le simple récit va te fendre le cœur.

⁸ Refers to the withdrawal of *Artémire*, after the first performance of February 14, 1720.

⁹ The *Château de Sully* where Voltaire wrote *Artémire*.

¹⁰ Refers to the parody *Artémire* by Dominique, played at the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, on March 10, 1720. The author of the *Prologue* could easily know by February 23, that the *Théâtre Italien* was going to stage this mock imitation.

¹¹ Hylus is the hero of the tragedy *Les Héraclides* by A. Danchet. The play was known, at first, under the name of *Hylus*. It was staged for the first time on December 29, 1719, and, until January 15, 1720, was represented eight times. Cf. Frères Parfaict, *Histoire du Th. Franç.*, Vol. XV, p. 358.

¹² *Polidore*, a *tragédie lyrique*, in five acts, by Laserre (pseud. of the Abbé Pellegrin), music of Batistin Stuck, played on February 15, 1720. The play was a transformation of a tragedy by the Abbé Pellegrin, also called *Polidore* (played 1705).

Je croyais que Bibou. . .¹³ Dieux! J'en frémis encore,
 Chez lui m'avait placée auprès de Polidore,
 Polidore, ce fils de deux auteurs abjects,¹⁴
 Du pauvre Pellegrin il avait tous les traits.¹⁵
 Son teint morne où loge la famine,
 Marquait qu'il dînait peu, (si toutesfois il dîne);
 Il n'avait point quitté ses vêtements crasseux;
 Sa perruque était rousse, et son manteau poudreux;
 Sa culotte attachée avec une ficelle,
 Laissait voir par cent trous, une cuisse plus noire qu'elle,
 Il n'était point chaussé des Cothurnes altiers,
 A peine, ma Céphise, avait-il des souliers.
 Ne pouvant endurer un pareil voisinage,¹⁶
 En fille d'Arouet je lui tins ce langage:
 Retire toi, coquin, va pourrir loin d'ici;
 Il ne t'appartient pas de m'approcher ainsi.
 Va, cours trouver Danchet.¹⁷ D'une arrogance extrême
 Ce bouquin me répond: Va le trouver toi même;
 Nous sommes tous égaux au fond du magasin;
 Je suis sur mon fumier comme toi sur le tien.

Céphise.

La nuit, comme le jour, Madame, a ses mensonges,
 Je vous croyais l'esprit bien au dessus des songes,

¹³ Pierre Bibou, Parisian bookseller, published several plays by Pellegrin; among which the one this *Prologue* refers to, *Polidore*, trag. lyrique.

¹⁴ This expression aims at the name Laserre, who was supposed to be the author of *Polidore*, the *tragédie lyrique*, although the play was based on the tragedy of that name by Pellegrin. The two authors mentioned may also be Pellegrin and Batistin Stuck, the composer of the music.

¹⁵ Simon Joseph Pellegrin, 1663-1745.

¹⁶ This part of the *Prologue* is a parody of a poem by Pierre Patris, written on October 5, 1671, a day before his death. I quote it according to a seventeenth century manuscript, *Recueil de plusieurs Pièces tant en vers héroïques, burlesques et satyriques, qu' en proses* (sic), belonging to the Library of the University of Minnesota (Z 840.1—R24).

Tous sont égaux à la Mort.

Je songeais cette nuit que du mal consumé,
 Coste à coste d'un pauvre on m'avoit inhumé,
 Et que n'en pouvant pas souffrir le voisinage,
 En Mort de qualité, je luy tins ce langage:
 Retire toy, coquin, va pourrir loin d'icy!
 Il ne t'appartient pas de m'approcher ainsi!
 Coquin, ce me dit-il, d'une arrogance extremes,
 Va chercher tes coquins ailleurs! Coquin toy mesme;
 Icy tous sont égaux, je ne te dois plus rien,
 Je suis sur mon fumier comme toy sur le tien. (fol. 201)

¹⁷ Antoine Danchet, dramatist. 1671-1748.

Qu'est un songe, en effet, qu'une erreur de l'esprit
 Que transporte la joie, ou que la crainte aigrit?
 Avançons, Mannoury n'a pas perdu la vie,¹⁸
 Sa présence en ces lieux vaut une apologie.
 Je le vois au parterre, Voltaire l'y a mis.

Artémire.

Lui-même, il est en butte aux sifflets ennemis.
 Ses plaidoyers qu'il vante, en sont-ils plus célèbres?
 Ses éloges pour moi sont des discours funèbres.

Céphise.

C'est trop tarder. Collin qui vient de s'avancer,¹⁹
 A fait signe du doigt que l'on va commencer.

¹⁸ Louis Mannory (1696-1777), lawyer and author. For many years he was a friend of Voltaire, with whom he studied under Father Porée. In 1719 he published *Apologie de la nouvelle tragédie d'Œdipe* (by Voltaire). For this reason he is supposed here to be preparing another Apology, for *Artémire*. Later Mannory became an enemy of Voltaire, took the side of Travenol against the poet, and is said to be one of the compilers of the *Voltaireana ou Éloges amphigouriques de Fr. Marie Arouet* (1748). He published also his *Observations judicieuses sur la Sémiramis* (1749). See Nisard, *Les Ennemis de Voltaire*.—Voltaire, *Correspondence*.

¹⁹ François Collin de Blamont (1690-1760), composer and superintendent of the King's music. He gave a sign to the orchestra to begin the music played before a performance. Cf. Fétis, "Biographie des Musiciens", La Porte, *Dict. Dramatique, etc.*

ST. AMBROSE AND CICERO

By ROY J. DEFERRARI
Catholic University of America

Among the great admirers of Cicero was St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan from 374 to 397. In the beginning of his *De officiis ministrorum*, he indicates openly his indebtedness to Cicero's work, *De officiis*, describing the purpose of his book thus, *sicut Tullius ad erudiendum filium, ita ego quoque ad vos informandos filios*; and the many parallels in ideas and phraseology which exist between the two have already been noticed many times.

Points of contact are also evident between St. Ambrose's sermon preached at the funeral of Satyrus, his beloved brother and intimate companion, and a letter of Cicero while in exile to his brother Quintus (*Q. Fr.* I, 3). St. Ambrose seems, probably unconsciously, to lament his brother's death in much the same manner that Cicero bewailed his plight of exile.

A general similarity of style is evident all the way through, and besides many passages contain similar ideas and a slight similarity of vocabulary. For example,

Ambrose 15: Ego te superstitem optabam, tu me superstitem dimisti. . . . Quid agam, mei successor haeredis? quid agam, meae vitae superstes? quid agam exsors huius, quod capio luminis? . . . Aut fortasse securus meriti tui, quas solas superstites habeo lacrymas, non requiris.

Cicero 3: Atque utinam me mortuum prius vidisses aut audisses! utinam te non solum vitae, sed etiam dignitatis meae superstitem reliquissem!

Also,

Ambrose 8: qui pio semper sollicitus affectu latus meum tuo latere sapiebas caritate, ut frater: cura, ut pater: sollicitudine, ut senior: reverentia, ut iunior.

Cicero 3: Cum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? Ego vero suavitate aequalem, obsequio filium, consilio parentem.

The following parallel passages are almost identical.

Ambrose 21: Quid enim mihi umquam iucundum, quod non esset ex te profectum? . . . An ego possum aut non cogitare de te, aut umquam sine lacrymis cogitare?

Cicero 3: An ego possum aut non cogitare aliquando de te aut umquam sine lacrimis cogitare? . . . Quid mihi sine te umquam aut tibi sine me iucundum fuit?

"MUMMY" IN SHAKESPEARE

By A. H. R. FAIRCHILD

University of Missouri

"Mummy" is mentioned three times by Shakespeare: *Othello*, III, iv, 75-76; *Macbeth*, IV, i, 23; and *Merry Wives*, III, v, 19.¹ *Variorum* and other notes² on these passages are somewhat inconclusive and unsatisfactory.

The first passage is from the lines in which Othello tells Desdemona how the fatal handkerchief was made:

And it was dy'd in mummy which the skilful
Conserv'd of maidens' hearts.

The *Variorum* quotes Steevens: "The balsamic liquor running from mummies was formerly celebrated for its anti-epileptic virtues. This fanciful medicine still holds a place in the principal shops where drugs are sold." Dyce calls mummy "a preparation for magical purposes, made from dead bodies," and properly remarks on the irrelevancy of Steevens' note. Furness doubts any reference to Egyptian mummies. He refers, also, to the passage from Hill's *Materia Medica*, quoted by Johnson in his *Dictionary*, and to Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, etc., 1677. According to Herbert, mummy is "a moist, redolent gum . . . sovereign against poisons."

The second passage, *Macbeth*, IV, i, 23, "Witches' mummy," is from the cauldron scene. In the (revised) *Variorum* note on this passage the excerpt from Hill's *Materia Medica* is given: "We have two substances for medicinal use under the name of *mummy*: one is the dried flesh of human bodies embalmed with myrrh and spice; the other is the liquor running from such *mummies* when newly prepared, or when affected by great heat. . . ." Professor Manly says: "*Mummy* is properly a sort of semi-fluid gum that oozes from an embalmed body when heat is applied; it was much used as a medicine in Shakspeare's time, though often spoken of as disgusting." Mr. Verity quotes Schmidt; Schmidt appears simply to have adopted the language

¹ Oxford edn.

² In scholarly editions such as those by Herford, Verity, Manly, and others.

of Dyce, as quoted above; Dyce, in turn, appears to have based his statement on the passage in *Othello*, rather than on any authority. The *New Hudson Macbeth*, possibly following Steevens, correctly states that "Mummy was much used as a medicine," and then adds, "a witch's, of course, had evil magic in it."

The meaning of "mummy" in the third passage is obvious. In *Merry Wives*, III, v, 9-19, Falstaff says:

The rogues slighted me into the river. . . I had been drowned
 . . . a death that I abhor, for the water swells a man. . .
 I should have been a mountain of mummy.

Schmidt, giving this reference, has: "a carcass." The *N. E. D.*, citing this passage for illustration, and evidently drawing its definition from it, says: "Used jocularly for: Dead flesh; body in which life is extinct."

Light is thrown on these passages by *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*. Or, the *New London Dispensatory*, by William Salmon, Professor of Physick, London, 1691, Fourth Edition.³ On pages 194-195 there is the following:

Mummy is five-fold: 1. Factitious *Pissasphaltum*, made of Bitumen and Pitch. 2. Flesh of a Carcase dried by the Sun, in the Country of the *Hammonians* between *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*, being Passengers buried in the Quick-sands. 3. *Ægyptian*, a Liquor sweating from Carcasses embalmed with *Pissasphaltum*. 4. *Arabian*, a Liquor which sweats from Carcasses embalmed with Myrrh, Aloes, and Balsam. 5. *Artificial*, which is Modern. Of all which the two last are the best, but the *Arabian* is scarcely to be got; the second and third sorts are sold for it: the Artificial is thus made.

22. *Mumia Artificialis*, Artificial or Modern Mummy, according to *Crollius*.

Take the Carcase of a young man (some say red hair'd) not dying of a Disease, but killed; let it lie 24 hours in clear water in the Air; cut the flesh in pieces, to which add Powder of Myrrh, and a little Aloes: imbibe it 24 hours in the Spirit Wine and Turpentine, take it out, hang it up twelve hours; imbibe it again 24 hours in fresh spirit, then hang up the pieces in a dry air, and a shadowy place, so will they dry, and not stink.

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³ I do not know the date of the first edition. Revisions on such a matter as that in hand would almost certainly be minor; and the account given may fairly be assumed to represent information current in Shakespeare's own time. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* lists an edn. of year 1678. *Cong. Libr. Cat.* gives Salmon's dates as 1644-1713.

24. Elixir Mumiae, *Elixir of Mummy*.

R/ *Artificial Mummy* out small, to which put spirit of Turpentine, putrify it forty days in a Vessel close luted; strain it, and put it into a Bladder with S. V. digest, and in an Alembick in sand draw off the Quintessence with the spirit, which separate; the *Feces* reverberate, and sublime to a salt, which unite with the separated Quintessence by circulation: then digest this Quintessence with Treacle and Musk to an *Elixir*. . .

25. *Balsamum Mumiae*, Balsam of Mummy.

R/ *Artificial Mummy* out small, digest it forty days with Oyl Olive in a luted vessel: put it in a glass Body, and in B. M. let the foetid scent exhale, till the Mummy is dissolved, digest it twenty days or more with S. V. which separate, and you have a sweet-scented red Oyl. This Oyl is exalted by degestation with S. V. and drawing it off four or five times. Where note, that Quercetan uses fresh flesh instead of Artificial Mummy. . .

26. *Aqua Divina*, Divine Water. Take the whole carcase of a man violently killed, with the Intrails, cut it in pieces, and mix them; distil it from a Retort twice or thrice.

It is reputed to have a Magnetick power. . .

The conclusions are fairly obvious. Mummy is not, as Professor Manly says, “properly” a sort of semi-fluid gum that oozes from an embalmed body; nor is it, in these passages from Shakespeare at least, the redolent gum that grows, mentioned by Herbert; rather it is, as Hill says, either the “dried flesh of human bodies” or the “liquor running from such mummies.” Or, as Salmon describes it, there are several kinds of liquid mummy, all of which, apparently, have the “Artificial or Modern Mummy” or its equivalent as their “base.”

On the first passage, the doubt of Furness that “the word conveyed, of necessity, any reference to Egyptian mummies” seems not well grounded, for Othello himself says that an “Egyptian,” who was “a charmer,” gave the handkerchief to his mother ll. 56-58).⁴ Hill (*op. cit.*) seems to scout the idea that the mummy sold by apothecaries was Egyptian; but Salmon, commenting on the scarcity of Arabian mummy, names the Egyptian as one kind usually sold for it; and Hunter concludes (note on l. 69) that the mention of mummy “and other points in the passage, seem to guide us to the true Egyptians, neighbors of the

⁴ That the history of the handkerchief here given, manifestly designed to increase the terror of Desdemona, differs from that in V, ii, 214-215, does not, of course, affect the background of information employed.

Moors." Shakespeare, it seems evident, was familiar, not only with the solid or "Artificial or Modern Mummy," but with the liquid or "Arabian" and "Egyptian" mummy. And it was in this liquid or Egyptian mummy that the handkerchief was "dy'd." "Dy'd," of course, means "dipped in," with the added idea of being mysteriously or magically affected. Salmon notes that the Divine Water, a form of liquid mummy, has "Magnetic power;" and though this power was designed, presumably, to affect the body primarily, a transference of effect upon the mind, through the medium of an object, would be a simple matter for Shakespeare in the fulfillment of his dramatic purpose. Similarly, with the authority of Quercetan for the use of fresh flesh rather than artificial mummy, the use of "maidens' hearts" would be simple and, for Othello's purposes, would lend an added touch of mystery and terror.

In the second passage, "Witches' mummy" is evidently the "Artificial or Modern Mummy" described in section 22 by Salmon, with the body of a witch substituted for that of a young man, a substitution no doubt designed, as the *New Hudson Macbeth* assumes, to add to the magical power of the hell-broth; it is almost certainly not the semi-fluid gum that Professor Manly supposes, nor a "medicine" as the *Tudor*, evidently leaning on Steevens' note, says. The probability that the "witches' mummy" here used was a substance rather than a liquid appears to be increased by the fact that the ingredients of the hell-broth are, with a single possible exception, substances, not liquids.

In the third passage, the meaning of Falstaff's "mummy" as "dead flesh," possibly with the added idea of its being soaked in liquid, is clear.

THE INFLUENCE OF NON-LATIN ELEMENTS ON THE TONIC VOWEL IN ITALIAN DIALECTS

By HERBERT H. VAUGHAN
University of Nebraska

The study of Italian dialects has never received the attention that it merits. Many do not realize that nowhere is the history of the civilization of a people so clearly and accurately shown as in its language, and that the dialects are unerring records of the communities in which they are spoken. Each dialect word has its particular significance, and, if its history can be traced, will bring out some interesting fact concerning the community which uses it. Every phonetic change is of great significance if the influence which caused it can be ascertained. In Italy the study of the vernacular is particularly interesting and more than ordinarily satisfactory because there we can study the linguistic development of twenty-four centuries and check the conclusions which we reach by historical data which, we know, possess a fair degree of accuracy.

Italian dialects may be roughly divided into five groups: (a) North Italian or Gallo-Italian, spoken in the Po valley and presenting many characteristics of Germanic origin similar to those shown by French and Provençal; (b) Central Italian, spoken in Tuscany, Umbria, and Latium, and closely resembling the literary Italian; (c) Neapolitan, spoken in the territory of Naples and, with some modifications, in the Abruzzi, the Capitanata, and the Puglie; (d) Sicilian, the dialects of Sicily, the Calabrie, and Terra d'Otranto; and (e) Sardinian.

These divisions are only approximate, and isolated "dialect islands" of some other group often appear within the confines of a certain geographic division. For these anomalies there is always an historical reason. Venetian, for instance, although in North Italian territory, is a Central Italian dialect. This is because the Venetians, instead of yielding to the Goths and Lombards, withdrew to their *lagune* and maintained their independent state, having little intercourse with the invaders, and preserving the

purity of their language. There are also isolated communities in Sardinia and Sicily that speak Tuscan or North Italian. These are due to colonization by people speaking those dialects.

The outstanding features of the North Italian are syncope, the dropping of the final vowel unless it be *a*, and the disappearance of double consonants. In Central Italy syncope is less frequent, the final vowels are kept, and double consonants are pronounced double. As we proceed towards Naples we find that the vowel quantity of the Latin is actually kept, and, instead of syncope, we find the opposite phenomenon of anaptyxis. On the other hand, as we go farther south and approach the Straits of Messina, anaptyxis becomes less frequent and syncope begins to re-appear.

In North Italian, tonic Latin *a* often appears as open *e* (*lēc* < *lactem*; *cantēda* < *cantata*; *ēra* < *alam*); *u* as *ü* (*lüm*, *līm* < *lumen*; *rüm* < *rumor*); and open *o* as *ö* (cf. French *eu*) (*fjöl* < *filiolum*; *fög'* < *focum*). In Central Italian the tonic vowels have remained more like the Latin sounds from which they developed than in any of the other groups. In the Neapolitan group of dialects they show important variations in development according to the locality which is studied. In Sicilian they show more uniformity, but some very striking phenomena are to be noted; such as, for instance, the regular change of closed *e* to *i*, and of closed *o* to *u* (*stissu* < *iste ipse*; *signuri* < *seniorem*; *duluri* < *dolorem*).

Some of these changes are due to phonetic tendencies which have operated since Latin times, while others are doubtless to be regarded as originating in pre-Latin dialects or languages spoken in the various parts of the country. Among the foreign influences which have operated since Latin times the most important is the Germanic. The language of the invaders of the North presented certain characteristics which were opposed to those of the Latin, and which made it well-nigh impossible for the invading race as a whole to acquire the more polished tongue and to speak it correctly. The Goth or the Lombard carried his habits of pronunciation with him, and these were different from those of the Roman. One of the most important of these differences seems to have been in the system of accentuation. While the question of Latin accentuation has been the subject of much debate, most authorities are agreed that in early times it resembled the Ger-

manic system; that is, there was a strong stress on the first syllable of the word. This, however, did not continue, and the classic system, according to which the stress fell on the penult if that was long, and otherwise on the antepenult, seems to have developed as early as literature began, and to have remained, both in the literary and the spoken languages, throughout the classic period, and, even after the distinctions of vowel quantity were lost (in Latin), the place of the accent was unchanged.¹

Although nothing definite is known about the Oscan system of accentuation, certain phenomena, such as the faithful doubling of consonants in writing, the retention of diphthongs, and anaptyxis, would point to the absence of a strong stress; and since Oscan was spoken over a wide territory when Latin was still confined to Latium, and Oscan was considered a language of great culture—Ennius boasted of having three souls because he could speak Greek, Oscan, and Latin—it is not beyond the range of possibility that the Latin of the classic period derived its system of accentuation from the Oscan. If such be the case it would be natural that strict observance of quantity should be more marked in the territory originally Oscan. This observance we find in the modern dialects in that territory. In Northern Italy it is indeed possible that a strong stress always prevailed, as the earliest Italic dialects spoken in that territory probably had it, and it is possible that the inhabitants of the Po valley never carefully observed distinctions of vowel quantity even up to the time when the Germanic influences first made themselves felt. The classic Latin system, however, became sufficiently prevalent in this region to cause a shift of the primary accent to the syllable which was stressed farther South, and there usually remained a secondary accent on the initial syllable of a long word. This system of accentuation naturally led to the slighting of intertonic syllables, which in turn led to syncope. In connected discourse final unaccented syllables became intertonic, between the primary accent of the word to which they belonged and the primary or secondary accent of the following word (depending upon the length of the latter); the result was that the final vowel was syncopated (with the exception of *a*, which is the most resistant of vowels, and

¹ See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*.

which often had to be kept to make the gender clear) (*fjöl* < *filium*; *frit*, *früt* < *fructum*; *līm*, *lūm* < *lumen*).

As one crosses the main chain of the Appennines from Emilia into Tuscany one immediately notices marked changes in speech. The Germanic element is not so strong. There are fewer Germanic words in the vocabulary and the phonetic changes brought about by the Northern system of strong stress accent disappear. The Central Italian group of dialects is that which to the casual observer seems most closely to resemble Latin. Syncope is infrequent, final vowels are kept, and double consonants are pronounced double. There is also a surprising resistance of all sounds, both vowel and consonant, to any change. This does not mean, however, that the Germanic influence on the language has been negligible. In fact, it is due to this very influence that the original language has been so well preserved. Every living language changes according to well-defined phonetic laws or principles. The most fundamental element in the determination of these principles is the system of accentuation, as the development of each sound in a language is directly dependent upon the time employed in pronouncing it and the force expended in doing so. In the Central Italian territory the spoken Latin of the late Empire was changing according to laws determined by weak stress and the retention of vowel quantity when the Germanic influence began to make itself felt. The natural tendency of the Latin was towards a softer and more even flow (such as we find in Neapolitan) and was almost diametrically opposed to the habits and tendencies of the foreigners. When contact was established between the two races, neither one completely imposed its habits of pronunciation upon the other, and there resulted a stagnation of development, a crystallization of the language which has kept it so remarkably similar to the mother language. The same thing happened in Spain, where Catalan, like Gallo-Italian, suffered more Germanic influence and began development along Germanic lines, while Castilian came just enough under the Germanic influence to cause it to cease development according to the natural Latin tendencies, and to remain very similar to the Latin of the late Empire. It has been suggested that Catalan may represent an earlier Latin, as Sardinian does, but the fact that Catalonia was colonized before Castile and Andalusia, is probably offset by

the constant communication which was kept up between Italy and the Eastern coast of Spain during the Empire. It is a curious fact that the dialects of Castile today more nearly resemble those of Central Italy than those of Catalonia, and this fact should be considered in dealing with the Spanish dialects.

It is not, however, accent that has caused the change of *a* to *e*, *u* to *ü*, and *o* to *ö* in Northern Italy. These changes also took place in French, and are probably of Celtic origin. The pre-Latin inhabitants of the Po valley were Gauls, and they carried over into Latin some of their own habits of pronunciation. The Romans themselves remarked that their language was spoken in a strange manner in Cisalpine Gaul. Quintilian (I, 5, 56 and VIII, 1, 3) speaks of Pollio's criticism of Livy's "Patavinity," and this would seem to refer to his pronunciation.

As we go from Rome to Naples we notice a marked change in the character of the language. The stress accent nearly disappears and vowel quantity is still kept. Syncope is extremely rare, but anaptyxis occasionally appears. The vocabulary is practically free of Germanic words. In Naples itself the language represents a remarkably pure Latin. Although Oscan was the pre-Latin language of the country, the city and its suburbs were thoroughly Romanized, and Latin was as well spoken here as in Rome itself. To be sure, the fact that Naples is a seaport has brought about the introduction of many words from the Greek, Arabic, French, Catalan, Sicilian, Turkish, and even English, and the Spanish domination has left its traces upon the vocabulary and in some idiomatic expressions, but there has been no outside influence to modify appreciably the character of the language. However, the Neapolitan provinces and the Abruzzi present a very different situation. Here the original Oscan inhabitants never learned to speak Latin well, and there are unmistakable evidences of remnants of their dialects. Since these provinces have for centuries been tributary to Naples, many of the expressions used in the city have been adopted by them, but one can separate the native words from those which have been borrowed and reach some interesting conclusions.

In Naples Latin tonic *a* remains, but in the Abruzzi it may become *e* unless the final syllable contains another *a*. In Foggia

it becomes *oe* and in the Puglie we find a varying scale of sounds going as far as *eu* (*poële*, *pëule* < *palam*; *choëse*, *chëuse* < *casam*). If the final syllable of the Latin word contained *u* we may find on the Adriatic slope such sounds as *ua* and *uo* (*addul-uruato* < *addoloratum*; *maniuato*, *maniuoto* < *manducatum*.)

Open *e* regularly becomes *ie* whether free or checked, if the Latin vowel of the final syllable was *u* or *i*, both in Naples and the provinces (*tierzo*, *terza*).

Closed *e* regularly becomes *i*, whether free or checked, if the Latin vowel of the final syllable was *u* or *i*, both in Naples and the provinces (*chisto*, *chesta*).

Open *o* regularly becomes *uo*, whether free or checked, if the vowel of the final Latin syllable was *i* or *u*, both in Naples and the provinces (*buono*, *bona*).

Closed *o* regularly becomes *u*, whether free or checked, if the vowel of the final Latin syllable was *i* or *u*, both in Naples and the provinces (*nnustriuso*, *nnustriosa*).

This metaphony of *a* to *e*, *ua*, or *uo*, of open *e* to *ie*, of closed *e* to *i*, of open *o* to *uo*, and of closed *o* to *u*, is characteristic of the Neapolitan dialects. It is probably very old, and we find traces of it in the earliest manuscripts. Such evidence of course may not be absolutely reliable; but if we find *tiempo* in one line and *tempo* in the next, the natural inference is that the customary pronunciation of the word was *tiempo*, and consciousness of the Latin form caused the scribe sometimes to write it *tempo*.

It is noticeable that while metaphony affects *e* and *o* (both open and closed) in the entire territory, it seems to have had no influence upon *a* in the country immediately surrounding Naples, and this is precisely the district in which anaptyxis, so common in the provinces, is most rare.

The Oscan in pre-Roman days must have spoken slowly—for he preserved his diphthongs even when the Roman did not—and he frequently interjected a vowel, in his own native language, between two consonants which may have made a difficult combination. When he came to learn Latin his pronunciation was probably slow and somewhat labored. Under such conditions metaphony, or *umlaut*, is easy, especially when the language contains important vocalic inflexional endings. The Oscan took his time, and while he was pronouncing the tonic vowel he was thinking.

of the vowel of the ending. This resulted in drawling the tonic vowel and frequently in its attraction towards the position of the final one. Such an explanation might seem fantastic if it were not that we see a stage even more marked in the extreme south.

Let us now pass to the dialects of Terra d'Otranto, the Calabria, and Sicily. Here we find very different developments. Open *e* and open *o* remain, but closed *e* and closed *o* regularly become *i* and *u* respectively. The vowel of the final syllable does not affect the tonic vowel. The regular substitution of *i* and *u* for closed *e* and closed *o* is pure Oscan. Did the inhabitants of the extreme south never learn to pronounce closed *e* and closed *o*? Why did they not indulge in a metaphony or *umlaut* like their neighbors to the north.

In seeking the answer to this question it should be noted that anaptyxis is much less frequent in Sicily and the extreme south of the peninsula than in the Neapolitan provinces. Why should this be? We must remember that the Greeks have always exerted a profound influence in this region. The Northern Greek dialects, which were those most intimately associated with Magna Graecia in pre-Latin days, have a strong stress accent. Before the days of Roman dominion this country had become pretty thoroughly Hellenized, and the Oscan or Sicilian may have learned to speak in the Greek manner. Iotacization had already begun in Greek, at least as far as *Eta* is concerned, as early as the fifth century B. C. *Omega* was also frequently confused with *Omicron Upsilon*. These pronunciations were in line with the natural trend of the Oscan language, and the native, instead of hesitating over the tonic vowel while he was thinking of the ending, pronounced it with a sharp stress accent like that used by the Greek, but gave it his natural Oscan pronunciation. In most of the Sicilian territory unaccented closed *e* and *o* have also become *i* and *u* (*signuri* < *seniorem*; *duluri* < *dolorem*).

Today, if we are going to advance the study of Romance dialects and ascertain the causes for the varying changes in different parts of the Latin-speaking world, we must take into account not only the foreign influences which have operated since the days of Roman dominion, but also the phonetic tendencies of the language spoken by the natives before Latin was forced upon them.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die deutsche Lyrik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von Herder bis zur Gegenwart, by Emil Ermatinger. vi+ 444+ 311 pp. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig-Berlin, 1921.

These two volumes are the superior production of a superior scholar. In speaking of Professor Ermatinger's work one might well borrow from Goethe's *Faust* the actor's statement about human life, "Wo ihr's packt, da ist's interessant." Volume I is entitled *Von Herder bis zum Ausgang der Romantik*; volume II, *Vom Ausgang der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart*.

The style is clear, sincere, compelling, indeed fascinating; the reader is led on from page to page, from chapter to chapter to the end of the second volume, and then, like Oliver Twist, he hungers after more. The manner of treatment is independent, turning away from the positivistic method of history-writing and taking the individual personality as a symbol. The positivistic method has tried to make the science of literature an exact science. To be sure, one who wishes to devote himself to the study and the interpretation of literature must possess the observation and the understanding of an investigator in the natural sciences, but he must also have the love and the feeling of an artist. He must, of course, to a certain extent, dig into the roots of things, but not to such a depth as to kill the plants, nor should the digging fill his eyes so full of dust and dirt that they become blind to the beautiful flowers by the wayside. Therefore, a subjective element is not out of place in the treatment of literature. As Professor Ermatinger has elsewhere pointed out, what is now accepted as objectivity is merely the subjectivity of earlier authoritative critics; objectivity is only another name for convention. He has treated with a master hand the fundamental differences between these two methods of literary interpretation in another monumental volume, recently sent forth from his Swiss workshop, *Das dichterische Kunstwerk: Grundbegriffe der Urteilsbildung in der Literaturgeschichte*, which we hope to discuss in our next number.

In a word then, Professor Ermatinger's method of literary appreciation and interpretation starts with a protest against materialistic "Positivismus und Psychologismus." Following out this independent idea, he selects individual poets, and in the discussion does not put stress upon a great mass of minor facts but emphasizes the essentials, and only those personalities are treated that are symbolical; there is no mere catalogue of names nor a long list of dates. The author's purpose was not exhaustive completeness, which, according to his view, is "das Ende der Wissenschaft und der Anfang der Verdummung." He admits that as a result of his method many names may be missed, names that have been accustomed to wander on through the history

of literature, "ungeprüft von Buch zu Buch," and furthermore, his modesty leads him to say that through lack of knowledge of their real worth he may have failed to include others.

Space permits mention of only a few of the interesting things in these books. To show the absurdity of an inordinate desire for detail and completeness, Professor Ermatinger quotes, from the *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* of Brockes, six lines of rhymes in which are enumerated forty-four parts of the body as gifts from God; and in an overflow of gratitude Brockes closes the last line with the words, "und viel andere Glieder." In contrast to Brockes, Klopstock lived "in grossen Dimensionem." To Herder poetry was the mother tongue of the human race, as shown by his interest in the Volkslied. Professor Ermatinger sets forth Herder's understanding of the nature of the lyric by the following quotation: "Lied muss gehört werden, nicht gesehen; gehört mit dem Ohr der Seele, das nicht einzelne Silben allein zählt und misst und wäget, sondern auf Fortklang horecht und in ihm fortschwimmt."

The best parts of the first volume, however, are the chapters on Goethe, pp. 76-245. The interpretation of some of his poems is most lucid and inspiring, for instance, *Das Göttliche*; and then *Ueber allen Gipfeln*, that literary gem of twenty-four words, so aptly called by Thomas Wentworth Higginson "the slumber song of summer," is made to live anew in the soul of man. The explanations of the changes in its metrical structure are so convincing that one could almost feel the beauty of the poem without knowing the meanings of the words. The last chapter on Goethe the author has appropriately named "Entsagung." Here he discusses, among other matters, Goethe's polarity of the ego and the universe; in order to write poetry Goethe had to feel himself as one with the universe. Then follows a brief chapter on the "lyric of thought," as preparatory to the chapter on Schiller, with a discussion of Kant's philosophy and of the separation of the ego and the universe. The disunion of the ego and the universe is one characteristic that makes Schiller different from Goethe. Schiller's lyrics from the beginning reflect the contrast between the ego and reality, and their function seems to be to conquer dull reality by the idealizing power of the ego. Goethe's lyrics are nature lyrics in the widest and deepest sense, lyrics of the visible universe, says Professor Ermatinger.

The chapter on Heine in the second volume will seem a little severe to a few friends of that suffering poet who spent part of his life in a "mattress grave," but even if not everyone agrees with the strictures, Heine himself would probably be satisfied to have his own words quoted, "So wird es doch wenigstens ein grosses Aufsehen erregen." We must admit that a defense of Heine would be out of place; Professor Ermatinger's characterization of him and of his work is not mere personal opinion, for it is based upon fact. Professor Ermatinger finds the key to Heine's soul in his attitude toward his fellowmen, friend and foe, in private and in business relations; as regrettable examples Platen and Börne may be mentioned. Heine was burdened, especially in the first half of his life, with an overabundance of the ego feeling. In this respect he resembles Byron, the only human being to whom he felt related, as he himself admitted. There is an interesting explanation of the

Saint Simonian influence upon Heine as compared with that of Hegel. At about the age of fifty the spiritual entered Heine's soul in new beauty, says Professor Ermatinger; in 1851 he wrote that he had returned to God, like the prodigal son, after having tended the swine among the Hegelians. The author brings in much evidence from the poems to show how Heine changed from the general to the specific, from the conventional to the personal.

Professor Ermatinger has written a very appreciative chapter on that excellent Swiss author, Gottfried Keller, a man whose nature-sense was a strong factor in fixing the character of his work, and whose *Neuere Gedichte* contain some very original poetry. In this connection scholars will recall Professor Ermatinger's splendid biography of Keller in three large volumes, entitled, *Gottfried Kellers Leben, Briefe und Tagebücher*, and also the earlier work of Professor Fernand Baldensperger, *Gottfried Keller; Sa Vie et ses Œuvres*.

Professor Ermatinger's two volumes on German lyrics contain also valuable chapters on realism, political lyrics, Hebbel, ballad-writers, lyrics and science, etc. The reader may open the books wherever he will, for "Wo ihr's packt, da ist's interessant."

C. B. W.

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in ihren Grundzügen, by O. E. Lessing. 345 pp. Carl Reissner, Dresden, 1921.

This is an interesting book, written in an easy unstudied style. The sentences are usually short, but sometimes not well connected, frequently giving the impression of notes jotted down from lectures. Possibly the latter fact is a virtue, for the essentials are thus presented without ornament. The marginal guides furnish an acceptable aid to the eye. In the interest of ready reference the page numbers should have been indicated after the various divisions and subdivisions in the table of contents. The work will undoubtedly make friends and find a place for itself among the numerous books on the subject.

After all, it is a question whether there was need of another history of German literature. The author does not present any reason for adding one more volume in a field that has been well covered; there is neither preface nor introduction. Consequently the reader is at a loss to know the author's aims and canons of treatment, unless they may be inferred from the words "in ihren Grundzügen" in the title.

The book is divided into three parts:

- I. Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit
- II. Das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen und die Vorklassiker
- III. Der klassische Zeitraum

The unfortunate thing about this method of division is the fact that the reader gets some of the material by instalments. For instance, in Part II Goethe's *Faust* receives only one-third of a page. A reference here to the full and interesting treatment in Part III, pp. 321-332, would guard against a false impression and hold out hope to the inquiring student.

A few friends are missed, and others receive slight attention, but one can

not expect agreement in matters touching the relative importance of writers, nor extended criticism in a book of this size. For instance, the reviewer has looked in vain for an adequate account of the work of Paul Fleming; his name does not even appear in the index. The author of the beautiful poem which begins

“In allen meinen Taten

Lass ich den Höchsten raten,”

a poet whom some critics placed even above Opitz, deserved at least a fair amount of recognition (see Koberstein, *Geschichte der deutschen National-literatur*. Leipzig, 1872, Vol. II, pp. 123 and 151). It is the reviewer's opinion that literary historians in general fail to give Fleming due recognition. Another writer who might properly receive more attention is Johann Christian Günther. Although his life covered only the brief period from 1695 to 1723, he was, as Professor Lessing says, a worthy predecessor of Klopstock, but a part of the credit given to the latter might justly be shared by Günther. Günther's memory has never fully recovered from the severe criticism by Gervinus in his *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. At any rate he was appreciated by his contemporaries, as set forth by Ludwig Fulda in the introductory part of Vol. XXXVIII of Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Literatur*, and readers will recall Goethe's favorable opinion in the seventh book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.

Professor Lessing's brief chapter on the Leipzig and Swiss Schools puts into a nutshell the essential literary principles of these movements, and, on the whole, it is a good presentation. However, Professor Lessing's opinion of Gottsched's relation to the drama is much more favorable than that of his illustrious namesake as recorded by Germany's great critic in his seventeenth *Literaturbrief*.

In about four pages Jakob Reinhold Lenz is portrayed effectively in his unworthy efforts to supplant Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* by his “unklar und unreif” *Anmerkungen übers Theater*, and by his impetuous love and passionate lyrics to supplant Goethe in the heart of Friederike Brion, not realizing that “the heart that had loved Goethe could never love another.” Attention is likewise drawn to the sordid social ideas of Lenz's *Die Soldaten* in contrast to the purity of the characters in Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*.

The accounts of Klinger, Herder, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller are, in the main, to be commended. The influence of Voltaire upon Lessing seems a bit overstated.

The spelling of names and titles is frequently uncertain or inconsistent. Examples are: “Nibelungenlied” and “Nibelungen-Lied,” p. 62; “Alexanderlied” and “Alexander-Lied,” p. 29; Scheffel's *Ekkehard* appears in the now unusual spelling “Eckehard,” p. 20; “Midsummernight's dream,” p. 162, but also “Sommernachtstraum,” p. 163; “Loves' Labor Lost,” p. 208; “Discourse der Malern,” p. 131. “Des Unwesen,” p. 171, five lines from the bottom, is evidently a misprint.

C. B. W.

Charlemagne (The Distracted Emperor) Drama Élisabéthain Anonyme. Edition Critique avec Introduction et Notes, par Franck L. Schoell. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1920.

This new edition of *Charlemagne* should be welcomed by students of our early drama, if it be for no other reason than that it renders easily accessible again, in attractive form, another old Elizabethan play. It has been printed only once before, in Bullen's *Collection of Old English Plays*, under the title, *The Distracted Emperor*. That collection is now out of print, and in many details, it is said, its version of *Charlemagne* is inaccurate. Professor Schoell, therefore, aims in this new edition to give an absolutely faithful reprint of the old manuscript, now in the possession of the British Museum. But his main end is to establish, what Bullen only suggested, the authorship of George Chapman.

Charlemagne is an historical play in the general style of Marlowe. One portion of the plot, the story of the ring, came to the author directly or indirectly from Petrarch. The more strictly historical episodes that tell of the dotage of the emperor, the scheming of Ganelon, and the final triumph of Orlando, can be traced to no definite source. The editor suspects, however, that if there were such an original for the story, it is to be found in the legends of the Italian Renaissance.

There seems to be no external evidence pointing to the authorship of Chapman. Consequently, the editor bases his contention on two sorts of argument. In the Introduction he calls attention to the general resemblances between this play and the known plays of Chapman. The choice of material from French history, the handling of the plot, the treatment of character, especially by types rather than as strongly marked individuals, and the imaginative use of language—all these resemble Chapman's known tastes and methods. The chief episode in this play and a subordinate *motif* of *Monsieur d' Olive* concern a king who morbidly withholds the body of his dead queen from burial, owing to the influence of a magic ring. In this play, also, there are two acts consisting each of a single scene, as is the case also in *All Fools* and *May Day*. Again, the parts played by Didier and La Fue here are strikingly like the parts of La Fin in *Byron's Tragedy* and *Monsieur d' Olive*. Finally, the play abounds in reflective passages, as all Chapman's plays do.

The evidence of a more detailed kind presented in the notes is on the whole less convincing. It is certainly significant that expressions common in Chapman's plays, like "your excellent self" and "more then envious aspect," are to be found here. Other phrasal resemblances, however, are less noteworthy. A reference to "Monsieur's cast suit," for example, is hardly worth adducing. Yet it is generally admitted that Chapman often repeated phrases in one play that he had already used elsewhere. The sum total, therefore, of these correspondences, taken in conjunction with the matters of larger import considered in the Introduction, may warrant the attribution of the play to Chapman.

University of Iowa

E. N. S. THOMPSON

Practical French Phonetics, by T. Macirone. vi+140 pp. Allyn and Bacon, 1921.

The best brief description of this little book is found in the author's preface: "This book aims to help students of French to overcome the difficulties which confront them when they try to acquire a correct pronunciation of that language.—The book discusses the principles of voice production, illustrates by means of two cuts the organs of speech, and gives the exact position of these organs in making each French sound. It devotes a chapter to the vowels and one to consonants, giving the phonetic symbol for each sound with a paragraph explaining its use. One chapter is devoted entirely to daily exercises for the pupil's practice. Another is given to phonetic transcription of French stories and poems, the same piece of literature being presented in two columns, side by side, one in the regular Roman print and the other in the phonetic alphabet."

The author has limited himself to a very brief but clear presentation of the nature and need of a phonetic basis for studying or teaching French pronunciation, together with simple directions for the production of the sounds, some idea of ways in which they are normally spelled, and suggestions for drill. The book ought to be used by every student expecting to teach French. It will not replace such manuals as those of Geddes or Nitze and Wilkins, but should serve as an introduction to these. It should be in the possession of all members of teachers' classes and of all inexperienced teachers. Many seniors in our universities take courses in phonetics without learning how to present the subject to high school classes. To such this book should be a blessing.

No text book is perfect, and *Practical French Phonetics* can not hope to run the gauntlet of criticism unscathed. The chief defect of the book will be found in the statements as to the ways in which the various sounds may be represented in normal spelling. In general, these statements are not precise. Some are misleading. For example, the note on page 19, to the effect that linking takes place for the sake of "euphony," is a stock expression and means nothing to many pupils. A text of this sort should offer a real reason: that two vowel sounds cannot be produced in succession without a pause, however slight, between them to allow for the breath required for their production. In French this pause is often, but not always, avoided by linking. To be logical and to carry out the author's laudable plan of fixing the attention on sounds first, such statements as "This is the regular sound for i, î, y" (page 19), should read "This sound [i] is usually spelled i, î, y." The second form of statement still keeps the attention on the sound and its phonetic symbol as the primary matter; the representation of its normal spelling being of secondary importance. The statements concerning other spellings for [i] are especially misleading: "It is also the sound of i in various combinations as *ie, is, it, ient, ix.*" The statement holds good for *ie* only when final, or in a few such cases as *soierie, maniement*. It is true of *-ient* in only the rare cases like the one cited in the example, *ils scient*. What is the pupil to know about such cases as *vient, scientifique*? All such mis-

leading statements could have been avoided if the author had prefaced his discussion of the spellings of vowel sounds with a few general statements: that final consonants usually represent no sound; that *-ent* as a verb ending represents no sound; that nasal vowels have special spellings; that 's' as a plural sign represents no sound. This would avoid the need of multiplying examples as on pages 21, 22, where *j'allais* and *j'irais* are both given to illustrate open 'e.'

For the statement, page 30, that nasal sounds are peculiar to French and "a few other Latin tongues," "French and Portuguese" would be a good substitute. For the statement, page 45, "this sound (liquid l) is often given to i" should be substituted, "i before stressed vowels."

The selections used for phonetic transcription are simple and the transcription itself represents in the main the careful speech of the teacher of beginners rather than the rapid utterance that so often puzzles the student by the suppression of many neutral e's and the unvoicing of voiced consonants.

C. E. Y.

A Lithuanian Etymological Index, by Harold H. Bender, xvii+307 pp. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. 1921. \$5.00.

In this book Professor Bender has indexed the citations of Lithuanian words found in Brugmann's "Grundriss" and in the etymological dictionaries of Uhlenbeck (Sanskrit), Kluge (German), Feist (Gothic), Berneker (Slavic), Walde (Latin), and Boisacq (Greek). In addition to these citations the author has in many cases added references to other works which throw light on some phase of the word in hand. In doing this he has drawn on practically all the literature dealing in any way with the grammar of the Lithuanian language. He has, however, avoided giving more than one citation of exactly the same etymological material.

In orthography Bender agrees practically with Wiedemann. He retains the traditional Polish *sz*, for which many native Lithuanian scholars prefer to substitute a simpler and more universal sign.

Many misprints and errors found in the older works have been corrected in the "Index." This one volume, then, presents in a systematic, condensed, and revised form all the material help which modern scholars have found in Lithuanian for the solution of problems of Indo-European grammar. When one considers the unique importance of Lithuanian for comparative grammar, it will be evident that the present book is indispensable to scholars working in this field. Obviously it will never be one of the "best sellers," and the publication of such a book in the interest of pure scholarship is worthy of the utmost commendation.

The book is more than an index of etymological material, although that was its primary object, and as such it will have its greatest usefulness. After each Lithuanian word Bender has given the meaning in German. Thus the "Index" furnishes a fairly complete, perhaps the most complete working dictionary for students of Lithuanian.

University of Iowa

FRANKLIN H. POTTER

CONTENTS

(Continued from second page of cover)

Book Reviews - - - - - 154

EMIL ERMATINGER, *Die deutsche Lyrik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von Herder bis zur Gegenwart* (C. B. W.).—O. E. LESSING, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in ihren Grundzügen* (C. B. W.).—FRANK L. SCHOELL, *Charlemagne (The Distracted Emperor)* (E. N. S. Thompson).—T. MACIBONE, *Practical French Phonetics* (C. E. Y.).—HAROLD H. BENDER, *A Lithuanian Etymological Index* (Franklin H. Potter).

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Old Northern French Loan-Words in Middle English, by STEPHEN H. BUSH, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Iowa

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CONTENTS

Old Northern French Loan-Words in Middle English	
	<i>Stephen H. Bush</i> 161
Notes on the Tragedy of Nero - - -	<i>Wilfred P. Mustard</i> 173
Formal Dialogue in Narrative - -	<i>Bartholow V. Crawford</i> 179
Dante in 19th Century America - - - -	<i>Emilio Goggio</i> 192
Pioneer Iowa Word-List - - - - -	<i>Frank Luther Mott</i> 202
Chaucer's "Shapen Was My Sherte" -	<i>Laura A. Hibbard</i> 222
Shakespeare's "Living Art" - - - - -	<i>J. S. Reid</i> 226
Book Reviews - - - - -	228

LEVIN L. SCHUECKING, *Die Charakter-probleme bei Shakespeare: Eine Einführung in das Verständniss des Dramatikers* (KARL YOUNG).—ADOLF LOERCHER, *Wie, Wo, Wann ist die Ilias entstanden?* (JOHN A. SCOTT).—HERMANN FRAENKEL, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (JOHN A. SCOTT). EMIL ERMATINGER, *Das dichterische Kunstwerk: Grundbegriffe der Urteilsbildung in der Literatur-geschichte* (C. B. W.).—L. LAURAND, *Manuel des études grecques et latines* (B. L. U.).—RUDOLF VON DELIUS, *Paul Flemings Leben in seinen Gedichten* (C. B. W.).—A. KLOTZ, *C. Iuli Cæsaris Commentarii Belli Gallici* (B. L. U.).

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OLD NORTHERN FRENCH LOAN-WORDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

By STEPHEN H. BUSH
University of Iowa

Historians of the English language have long been accustomed to say that the great mass of Old French (OF) words introduced into ME (i. e. before 1500) came from Old Central French (OCF), and that the transfer was principally from literary sources. The common view is expressed by Greenough and Kittredge:¹ "Some words were borrowed from Norman French, but not enough to color the vocabulary to a perceptible degree. . . . The two languages lived amicably side by side for about two hundred years, neither affecting the other essentially." "Modern English contains thousands of French words . . . yet comparatively few of these are derived from Norman French. Wholesale borrowing began about 1300."

It is true that the New English Dictionary says,² "As a rule it may be assumed that the original form of every Middle English word of French origin was identical with the Anglo-French form." Elsewhere, however, the NED explains "Anglo-French" as meaning any OF word or form appearing in the French language as written in England during the ME period. That Anglo-French and Old Northern French (ONF) are not the same is obvious.

Some years ago Professor Sheldon suggested to me that it would be interesting to test this commonly accepted view by comparing two classes of ME words which afford a sound criterion. These two classes both originally came into OF from Latin or

¹ *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, pp. 85, 86.

² *Introductory Notice*, p. xx, footnote.

Germanic; originally they began with *ca-*, which in ONF became *ca-* [ka] or *ce-* [ke], but in OCF *cha-*, *che-*, or *chi-*. The continental distribution of the ONF *ca-*, *ce-* forms, as distinguished from the OCF *cha-*, *che-*, *chi-* forms is shown in Map 4 of Gröber's Grundriss. The ONF territory included Picardy, part of Normandy, a bit of Champagne, and a bit of the Ile de France. For this dialect the NED uses the term which I have followed—Old Northern French. The area in which this dialect was spoken was that from which came most of the army that conquered England, as well as most of the immigrants, noble, clerical, and artisan.³ Until the conquest and annexation of Normandy by Philip Augustus in 1204, the ONF dialect had every opportunity to affect the English vocabulary. That the borrowings were very much more numerous than is generally admitted will, I believe, appear from the evidence, even though very little of that evidence can be dated from documents before 1200.

So far as the record goes to show, polite or formal literature in the English language between 1066 and 1200 was in a state of almost total eclipse. From the date of the Battle of Hastings until the year 1300, in fact, there is scarcely a trace of polite or learned composition in English. The actual condition of the language, however, is likely to be obscured by this fact, and as a matter of fact, has usually been quite misunderstood. The overwhelming mass of the population, composed as it was of illiterate agricultural laborers and including at most only a few small landed proprietors, continued to speak nothing but English. These people could not read or write, could not reward fine poets, and could not pay for manuscripts. That is why so little literature in the English language was written down and preserved. It was therefore not until the wealthier and more cultivated classes accepted English as their vernacular language that we find any extensive records in that language. Before 1300, consequently, the record of OF loan-words is extremely scanty, and naturally the citations in the NED from before 1500—based on the prolific period after 1300—are predominatingly illustrative of words introduced, or reintroduced in OCF forms, long after the direct ONF political and cultural connection had ceased. It is of

³ Freeman, E. A., *Norman Conquest*, Vols. IV and V.

the utmost importance to observe, however, that it was only those ONF words which had become thoroughly naturalized in spoken English that had a chance to survive and be recorded, and therefore to find a place in the NED. Words temporarily or weakly introduced into English from OCF had a much better chance to get into a written document on account of the strong and continuous influence of OCF after 1204.

The very scantiness of English records dating from the earlier period makes all the more significant the persistence of the thoroughly naturalized ONF words which remained to be recorded later. It is therefore perfectly legitimate, I believe, to take the year 1500 as the final date for my material. ONF forms occurring before that year must have been adopted before 1300, perhaps before 1204, or they would hardly have been adopted at all. On the other hand, if I had taken a later date, the great mass of sixteenth century borrowings, which are wholly from Central French, would have thrown the comparison quite out of proportion. I have intended to show the comparative influence of the two dialects only in the earlier period—1066 to 1500.

It would, however, have been easy to give some later examples showing that words in actual use in early ME did not appear in book or manuscript until long after their adoption in speech. Thus *chandelry* appears first in 1601. But its shortened form, *chandry*, which must have been preceded by *chandelry*, is recorded as early as 1478. In the same way many ONF words which must have dated from the days of Norman speech in England reach the literary records only in the fourteenth, or even the fifteenth century. Thus *scarf* and *scarp* (two independent forms), representing the ONF form of the corresponding OCF *écharpe*, suddenly appear in English in the middle of the sixteenth century. Behrens⁴ long ago observed this late appearance of ONF forms in ME. Can it be explained except by the popular character of the ONF element? Does it not indicate that the ONF words became familiar to the lower classes of society, and that many words which had been adopted into the vulgar speech from the Normans, finally appeared in literature only after a long time had elapsed?

My lists have been compiled from the NED. I have made no effort to study further the history or etymology of these forms.

⁴ *Französische Studien*, Vol. 5, p. 205.

List I consists of words with ONF forms occurring before 1500, together with a few later cases which escaped earlier record. I have also included a few doubtful cases for the sake of completeness, as well as some others where the ONF influence was a reinforcing element to words from Latin already existing in English. List II contains OCF *cha-*, etc. words appearing before 1500. List III contains doublets. Many other *c-* words which on other grounds betray themselves as ONF, such as *search*, *cherry*, *chisel*, *chibol*, *kernel* "battlement", but which do not belong to the *ca*-class, are omitted merely because I have confined my attention to words of the one class.

LIST I: ONF WORDS IN *Ka-*, *Ke-*, *Ki-*, ETC.

- cabbage*, c. 1440, etc. Vb. 1528. (Channel Island word.)
cable, c. 1205, etc. (The early OF forms were *caable*, *chaable*, *cheable*, which seem to point to ONF as the first English source.)
cablisch, 1594, etc. Trees or branches blown down. (Late legal case.)
cabot, 1611. Miller's thumb, a fish. (Very late.)
cachere, c. 1340. Hunter.
cacherel, 1325. Beagle.
caffé, 1535, 1577. (Rare late variant of *chafe*.)
cattiff, 1300, etc. (Very common. The pronunciation indicates a continued Central French influence.)
cattifty, 1300, etc. (Common.)
calendar (-er), c. 1205, etc. (Shows rather the ONF *calender* than the CF *calendier*. A case of possible early influence only.)
calice, 1200, etc. (An OE word replaced from ONF *calis* in 12th century. Later, 1350, ousted by OCF *chalice*.)
challenge, v. 1225, etc.; sb. c. 1315. (Common early form of *challenge*.)
caltrop, 1300, etc. Snare for the feet.
caumbre, 1440. (Rare variant for *chamber*.)
camel, *Kamel* 1350, etc. *camelion* 1320. ("The Landisfarne Gloss in the 10th century adopted the Latin Vulgate as *camel*, *camell*, which after the 12th century, helped by OF became the only name." Early spellings such as *kamel*, *camayle*, *camaille* indicate some ONF reinforcing influence.)
campion, c. 1270, etc. (Common variant of *Champion*.)
canceleer, sb. 1599. A hawk's turn on the wing. (Late but clearly a form of CF *chanceler*.)
canceler, 1066, etc. (An early form of *chancellor*. Latin and ONF combination.)
cang, 1225, etc. Foolish. (The ultimate derivation is not known. The typical *ca-* and *cha-* forms appear. *Changon*, a term of personal insult, is found in Godefroy.)
acangen, c. 1225. To grow foolish.

- canker*. 1225, etc. (1000. *cancer* from Latin. Reinforced as *cauncre*.
kankir, *cankyr*, etc., from ONF.)
- canon*. 1205. (Apparently an adaptation of ONF.)
- canonist*. 1362, etc.
- canonry*. 1482.
- cannel*. 1300, etc. (Common.)
- cannel-bone*. 1369, etc.
- cant*, v. 1440, etc. To divide. (Possible case.)
- cantle*. 1350, etc. Nook.
- cantel-cape*. 1121.
- canvas*. 1260.
- capelet*. 1731. A horse disease. (Compare *carney*. The word looks ONF, but seems too late.)
- capelet*. "15th century." (No citation. Form of *chaplet*.)
- capell*. "16th century." (No citation. Rare form of *chapel*.)
- capille*. 1340, etc. (Once commoner than *chapter*.)
- capitol*. 1375, etc. (Indicates rather ONF *capitolie* than OCF *capitoile*.)
- captain* (various spellings). 1100, etc. (Early common form of *chaplain*.
 ONF probably reinforced the Latin form.)
- capon*. 1000, etc. (OE word probably reinforced by ONF.)
- capron*. c. 1460, etc. Hood.
- car*. 1382, etc.
- caract*. 1377, etc. (Early form of modern *character*.)
- carbuncle*. c. 1305, etc. (*Ca-* and *cha-* were common. *ca-* later reinforced from later *Ca-*, in CF.)
- carcass*, 1299, etc. (Modern French is a refashioning of the word.)
- cardoun*. c. 1425, Thistle. (Rare form.)
- carited*. 1154, etc. (Early and common form.)
- cark*. sb. 1300, etc. v. 1300. Load.
- carney*. 1678. A horse disease. (Compare *capelet*. Late; possible case.)
- carpenter*. c. 1325, etc.
- carpentry*. c. 1377, etc.
- carpet*. (1291 Latin). 1345, etc. The Modern French *carpette* was apparently reintroduced from English.⁵
- carriage*. 1375, etc. (1200 in Latin form.)
- carrion*. 1297, etc.
- carroy*. 1330. Transportation. (Rare variant for *charroy*.)
- carry*. 1230, etc.
- carte*. 1393, etc. Treatise, map.
- cartre*. 1297. Charter.
- carue*. 1297 (Latin), *caruage*, 1593, 1577. *caruace*. 1577, *caruoate*, 1086 (Latin). 1432-50. Plough-land. (ONF and med. Latin forms together.
 ONF influence present.)
- case*. 1300, etc.

⁵ Brüll, H., *Untergegangene und Veraltete Worte des Französischen im Heutigen Englisch*, Halle, 1913.

- castane, kesteyn.* 1382, etc. Chestnut. (OE was *oistenbeam*.)
caste. 1200. Chastise. (Rare.)
castellan. 1393, etc.
castiment. 1300. (Rare for *chastiment*.)
castle. 1050, etc. (The OE word for "village," reintroduced as *castle*, from ONF. The ONF influence changed the gender of *castel*, "vil-
 lage," from neuter to masculine in the 12th century.)
castellet. c. 1320, c. 1325.
catch. c. 1205, etc. Capture. 1250. Chase.
catchpole. 1050, etc. Taxgatherer.
cater. c. 1400, etc. Purchaser.
acate. 1386.
acatery. 1377, etc.
acatour. 1386, etc. Purchaser.
caterpillar. c. 1440, etc.
cattle. c. 1275, etc.
caudle. 1297. A warm drink, especially for the sick.
cawk. 1377, etc. Tread, copulate like birds.
cauldron. c. 1300, etc.
causey. c. 1330, etc.
causeway. c. 1440, etc.
coddle. 1598, etc. ("Sense and form fit **caudeler*. ONF.")
decay. sb. c. 1460, etc.; v. 1494, etc.
desoant. sb. c. 1380, etc.
keigne. c. 1340. (Rare form for *chain*.)
kennel. 13—, etc.
kennet. 1480, etc. Small hunting dog.
kennet. 1480, etc. A kind of grey cloth.
kevel. 1251, etc. Peg.
kitten. 1377, etc.
miscarry. (cf. OF *meskarier*, "go from right path." Possible case.)
scaffold. 1349, etc.
scald. 1225, etc.
scallion. 13—, etc. A variety of onion.
scandal. 1225, etc. (Later reinforced from CF form, remade as *scandale*.)
scantillon. 1300, etc. Gauge.
scare. sb. c. 1297, Scorn, derision.
escape. a 1292, etc.
scapple. 1399, etc. To dress timber. (Not quoted as ONF, but the
 typical *esca-* and *escha-* forms are found in Old French.)
scar. 1388, etc. v. 1390, etc.
scare. sb. c. 1297, Scorn, derision.
scarce. 1290, etc.
scarcity. 1340, etc.
scarf. 1555, etc. (Late but convincing.)
scarp. 1562, etc. Term in heraldry for bar sinister.

scatch. 1420, etc. Stilt. (*Skate* probably from Dutch, from this same word.)
scavage. 1474, etc.
scavager. 1307, etc.
scorn. v. c. 1200, etc.

LIST II: WORDS IN *ch*.

achafe. 1325, etc.
eshafe, enchafe. 1474, etc.
acharn. 1400.
achate. 1230, etc. Agate.
achate. 1374, etc. Purchase.
achator. 1386, etc. Purchaser.
achesoun. 1230, etc. *chesoun.* 1300, etc.
achevisaunoe. 1430.
achieve. 1325, etc. *chieve.* 1300, etc.
achievement. 1475, etc.
chabot. 1610, Miller's Thumb, a fish.
chafe. c. 1325, etc.
chain. c. 1300, v. 1393, etc.
chair. 1300, etc.
chaisel. 1205, etc. A fine linen cloth.
chaitiff. 1330, etc. (variant for *caitiff*.)
chalder. 1300, (Latin), 1500.
chalice. 1300, etc.
challenge. sb. c. 1315. v. 1300.
challengeour. 1292, etc.
challoir. 1475. *nonchalloir.* 1495.
chamber. 1225, etc.
chamberer. 1340, etc.
chamberlain. 1225, etc.
chameyl. 1300, etc. (Form of *camel*.)
chamfrain. 1465. Frontlet of armed horse.
champ. sb. c. 1300, etc.
champaign. 1400, etc. Level country.
champertor. 1383.
champerty. c. 1386, etc. Division of power, collusion.
champestre. 1491. Rural.
champion. 1225, etc.
chance. 1297, etc.
chancel. 1302, etc.
chancellery. c. 1300, etc.
chancellor. 1297, etc.
chance-medley. 1494, etc. Casualty.
chandelabre. c. 1430.
chandlew. 1451. *chandlery.* 1601, etc. *chandry,* 1478, etc.
chandler. c. 1325.

- chang.* 1225. (Form of *cang.*)
change. sb. 1225, v. c. 1230.
changer. c. 1340, etc.
channel. 1300, etc. *channel-bone.* 1577, etc.
chanon. 1300, etc. (Common form of *canon.*)
chanonry. 1482.
chant. v. c. 1386.
chantress. 1430, etc.
chantepleure. c. 1374, etc.
chanter. 1297. *enchanter.* 1397, etc. Singer.
chanticleer. 1300, etc.
chantry. 1340, etc.
chape. sb. 1395, etc. Metal case.
chapel. 1225, etc.
chaperon. c. 1380. *chapron.* 1460, etc.
chaplain. c. 1300, etc.
chaple. c. 1450. Fierce combat.
charter. 1250, etc.
chapon. 14th century. (No citation.)
chapitle, chapter. 1297, 1340, etc.
char. sb. 1300, etc.
charact. c. 1430, etc.
charbuncle. c. 1230, etc. (Common.)
chare. 1422, etc. Flesh.
charret. 1400, etc. Wagon.
charge. sb. 1225; v. 1225, etc. (Commoner than *carik.*)
chargeable. 1480, etc.
chargeous. 1382, etc.
charger. c. 1305, etc.
chariot. c. 1325, etc.
charioteer. c. 1340, etc.
charitable. 1340, etc.
charitous. 1340-70, etc.
charity. 1175, etc.
charlet. c. 1390, etc. A custard.
charm. sb. 1300; v. c. 1380, etc.
charoine. 1225.
charnel. sb. c. 1470. Hinge.
charnel. sb. 1377. House for bodies.
carpenter. 1548. (Scotch. Variant for *carpenter.*)
charrey. c. 1300, etc. Transportation.
charter. 1250, etc.
chartre. c. 1250, 1483. Prison.
charthouse. c. 1387.
chase. sb. 1297, etc. (Form *chache* meaning both "catch" and "chase,"
 is interesting.)

- chastelain.* c. 1400, etc.
chaste. adj. 1225.
chaste. v. 1200, etc. Punish.
chastise. c. 1325, etc.
chastiment. 1225, etc.
chastity. 1225, etc.
chasuble. c. 1300, etc.
chat. sb. 1400, etc. Catkin.
chatelet. 1494.
chattel. 1225, etc.
chaucepe. 1499. Shoe horn.
chaud. 138-, etc. Hot.
chaudmelle. c. 1425, etc. Sudden brawl.
chaudpisse. c. 1440, etc.
chausses. 1484, etc. Pantaloons.
chaussure. c. 1380, etc.
chawdron. c. 1420, etc. Sauce.
check. sb. c. 1314.
checkmate. 1346, etc.
cheer. 1225, etc.
chemis. 1488. Manorhouse. (Scotch).
chemise. 1200, then 16th century.
chenaille. 1340. Rabble.
chere. 1297, etc. Dear.
chermat. c. 1475.
cherish. c. 1320, etc.
cherte. 1225, etc.
chessmen. c. 1314, etc.
chestene. 1320, etc. *chestnut.* 1519, etc.
chevachee. c. 1380, etc. Raid.
chevage. 1292, 1461. Poll money.
chevalier. 1292, etc.
chevanoe. 1393, etc. Success in getting rich, fortune.
chevausende. 1430. Riding.
cheveral. 1400, etc. Kid leather.
chevelure. 1470, etc.
chevesaile. c. 1400, etc. Coat collar, often richly worked.
chevetaine. c. 1275. *chieftain.* 1325, etc.
chevisance. 1300, etc. Issue, etc.
chevise. 1300, etc. Achieve.
chevron. c. 1300, etc.
chief. 1297, etc.
chimer. 1375, etc. Loose upper robe.
chimney. 1330, etc.
chivalrous. c. 1340, etc.
chivalry. 1297, etc.

- decay.* 1549. (Rare form of *decay*.)
discharge. c. 1330, etc.
enchance. sb. 1432.
enchant. c. 1374, etc.
enchanter. 1297, etc.
enchantry. 1297, 1591.
enchantment. 1297, etc.
enchantress. c. 1374, etc.
encharge. 1374, etc.
encharm. 1480, 1497, 1611.
encharter. 1483.
enchase. c. 1380, etc.
encheason. 1297, etc.
encheat. 1387, etc. *cheat*, c. 1375.
encherish. c. 1480.
eschape. c. 1340; *chafe.* 1375; *achape.* 1205, etc.; *chape.* c. 1325.
eschar. 1543. Brown or black scab.
escharbon. 1480. Beetle.
escheat. 1292, etc.
escheator. 1292, etc.
eschay. 1488.
exchange. v. 1300. sb. c. 1374, etc.
exchequer. 1292, etc. v. 1297, etc.
kerchief. 1300, etc.
mischance. 1297, etc.
mischief. 1300, etc.; *mischieve.* c. 1330; *mischievous.* c. 1330.
purchaser. 1303, etc.
scaffold. 1470, etc.
schald. 1225, etc. (Variant of *scald*.)
schantillon. 1300.
scharn. 1225, etc. (Also *schorn*.)
scharsete. "14th century." (No example cited.)

LIST III: DOUBLETS.

- acate.* 1386; *oater.* 1400. *achate.* 1374.
acator. 1386. *achator.* 1386.
cabot. 1611. *chabot.* 1610.
caffé. 1535. *chafe.* c. 1325.
caitiff. 1300. *chaitiff.* 1330. (Both common.)
calice. 1200. *chalice.* 1300. *ch-* form ousted the other.)
callenge. 1225. *challenge.* c. 1315. (Both common.)
caumber. 1440. (Rare.) *chamber.* 1225.
camel, kamel. 1350. *chameyl.* 1300.
campion. c. 1270. *champion.* 1225. (Both common.)
canceleer. 1500. *chanceleer.* 1665. (Both very late.)
canceler. 1066. (Early form. Latin influence.) *chancellor.* 1297.
cang. 1205. *chang.* 1205.
canon. 1205. *chanon.* 1300.

- canonry*. 1482. *chanonry*. 1482.
cannel. 1300. *channel*. 1300.
cannel-bone. 1300. *channel-bone*. 1577.
capel. 16th century. *chapel*. 1225.
capelet. "15th century." *chaplet*. 1375. Horse disease.
caplain. 1100. *chaplain*. 1300.
capitle. 1340. *chapitle*. 1297. (Both common.)
capon. (Very early.) *chapon*. 14th century. (Rare.)
capron. c. 1460. *chaperon*. c. 1380.
car. 1382. *char*. 1300.
caract. 1377. *charact*. 1430.
carbuncle. c. 1305. *charbuncle*. c. 1230.
carited. 1154. *charity*. c. 1175.
carik. 1300. *charge*. 1225.
carpenter. c. 1325. *charpenter*. 1548. (Scotch; very late.)
carriion. 1297. *charroine*. 1225. (Rare.)
carroy. 1330. *charroy*. c. 1300.
carte. sb. 1393. *chart*. 1571, etc. (Second introduction of word.)
cartre. 1297. *charter*. 1250. (Common.)
castane. 1382. *chesteyne*. 1320. (Less common in early days.)
caste. 1200. *chaste*. c. 1200.
castellan. 1393. *chastellan*. 1400. (Rare.)
castiment. 1300. *chastiment*. 1225.
castellet. c. 1320. *chastellet*. 1494. (Rare.)
catch. c. 1205. *chase*. 1297.
cattle. c. 1275. *chattel*. 1225.
decay. 1494. *dechay*. 1549. (Rare and late.)
keigne. c. 1340. (Rare.) *chain*. c. 1300.
scaffold. 1349. *scaffold*, *chaflet*. 1470.
scantillon. 1300. (Common.) *schantillon*. 1300. (Rare.)
sald. 1225. *schald*. 1225. (Rare.)
scape. 1275; *escape*. 1292. *eschape*. c. 1340; *chafe*. 1375; *achape*, 1205, etc.
scarcity. 1340. *scharsete*. "14th century." (Rare. No example.)
scar. 1388. *eschar*. 1543. (Late and rare.)
scorn. c. 1200. *scarn*. *scharn*. 1225. *schorn*.

The evidence afforded by the preceding lists is at best fragmentary. No two philologists would agree upon the same words as admissible. Some of the *ca-* words are very late, some owe their existence to an assisting Latin influence. In a number of cases the ONF can only claim to have reinforced a *ca-* spelling. I have listed for completeness altogether 96 *ca-* words, as against 167 *cha-* words. If merely for the sake of the argument we throw out of consideration as late, doubtful, or Latin, the words *cablish*,

cabot,affe, calendar, calice, camel, canceleer, canceler, canker, cant, cape, capelet, capell, capitol, caplain, capon, carney, carue, coddle, miscarry, there still remain 76 words of probable ONF origin. As against the 167 *cha-* words, many of which are only rare book words, this list is impressive. It must again be remembered that the popular character of the ONF words, as against the literary character of the OCF words, strongly favored the latter in written speech, and that the scanty records following the Conquest again favored the more frequent recording of *cha-* words before 1500.

I believe that the lateness of the appearance of great numbers of ONF words has led scholars off the track. They have supposed that the amply evidenced OCF literary influence was the one important consideration. If the class of words which I have studied is a sample of the total contribution of French to English, there was a powerful current of important words which swelled the tide of influence from France upon the English vocabulary. I do not believe that the "two languages lived amicably side by side for about two hundred years, neither affecting the other essentially."

NOTES ON THE TRAGEDY OF NERO

By WILFRED P. MUSTARD
The Johns Hopkins University

The anonymous *Tragedie of Nero* was printed at London in 1624, and republished in 1633. It was reprinted, with an introduction and notes, by A. H. Bullen, in the first volume of his *Collection of Old English Plays*, London, 1882, and by Herbert P. Horne, in the eighth volume of the *Mermaid Series*, London, 1888. In 1914 a careful study of it was published by F. Ernst Schmid, in an appendix to his edition of Thomas May's *Tragedy of Julia Agrippina* (Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, vol. 43).

The historical sources of the play are Tacitus, Dio Cassius, Suetonius and Plutarch. But the learned author drew freely upon other classical writers as well. A good many of his imitations and direct borrowings have been noted by Messrs. Bullen, Horne and Schmid, but it may be interesting to point out a few others here.

Act i, sc. 1. Petronius' sentiment:

Give me a wench that will be easily had,
Not wooed with cost, and being sent for comes;
And when I have her folded in mine arms,
Then Cleopatra she, or Lucrece, is;
I'll give her any title,

is taken from Horace, *Sat.* i, 2, 119-26:

parabilem amo venerem facilemque.
. quae neque magno
stet pretio neque cunctetur, cum est iussa, venire.
haec, ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum,
Ilia et Egeria est; do nomen quodlibet illi.

His further comment, at the end of the scene:

The thigh's as soft the sheep's back covereth
As that with crimson and with gold adorned,

is perhaps an echo of Horace, *Sat.* i, 2, 80-82:

nec magis huic inter niveos viridisque lapillos
. tenerum est femur, etc.

His later speech:

Chastity, fool! a word not known in courts.
 Well may it lodge in mean and country homes,
 Where poverty and labour keeps them down,
 Short sleeps and hands made hard with Tuscan wool,
 But never comes to great men's palaces,
 Where ease and riches stirring thoughts beget . . .
 Will one man serve Poppaea? Nay, thou shalt
 Make her as soon contented with one eye,

begins like Seneca's *Agamemnon*, 79:

iura pudorque
 et coniugii sacrata fides
 fugiunt aulas;

but it is mainly based on Juvenal, 6, 287 ff.:

praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas
 quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebant
 tecta labor somnique breves et vellere Tusco
 vexatae duraeque manus, etc.,

and Juvenal, 6, 53-54:

unus Hiberinae vir sufficit? ocius illud
 extorquebis, ut haec oculo contenta sit uno.

Act i, sc. 3. "Rich Mycenae," "Junonian Argos," and "Corinth proud of her two seas" are mentioned together, as in Horace, *Od.* i, 7, 3-9. Nero explains that he did not visit "Sparta and Athens, the two eyes of Greece" (cf. Justin, 5, 8, 4), because there was no one in those two cities with whom he cared to compete:

I will not be *Aieceleaus* nor Solon.

Who was "Aieceleaus," as the Quarto calls him? Was it Agesilaus, the Spartan king? Or should the line be compared with Persius, 3, 78:

non ego curo
 esse quod Arcesilas aerumnosique Solones?

Act ii, sc. 1. Petronius' account of his Enanthe's pleasant ways:

Who now will to my burning kisses stoop,
 Now with an easy cruelty deny
 That which she, rather than the asker, would
 Have forced from her, then begins herself,

is taken from Horace, *Od.* ii, 12, 25-28:

cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
 cervicem aut facili saevitia negat,

quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
interdum rapere occupet.

Act ii, sc. 2. The plight of the honest Cornutus:

What should I do at court? I cannot lie,

is the plight of the honest Umbricius, Juvenal, 3, 41-42:

quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio; librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare.

Act ii, sc. 3. "Alcmaeon or blind Oedipus." These were two
of Nero's rôles (Dio Cassius, 63, 9). Scaevinus' prayer:

O you home-born

Gods of our country, Romulus and Vesta,
That Tuscan Tiber and Rome's towers defends,
Forbid not yet at length a happy end
To former evils; let this hand revenge
The wronged world; enough we now have suffered.

is modeled on Virgil, *Geor.* 1, 498-501:

di patrii, Indigotes, et Romule Vestaque mater,
quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas,
hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo
ne prohibete. satis iam pridem, etc.

Act iii, sc. 2. Nero's threat that Vespasian shall sleep the "iron
sleep of death" recalls the "ferreus somnus" of *Aen.* 10, 745.

Act iii, sc. 6. Scaevinus' first speech:

But that our temples and our houses smoke, . .
Not Pyrrhus, nor thou, Hannibal, art author;
Sad Rome is ruined by a Roman hand.
But if to Nero's end this only way
Heaven's justice hath chosen out,
We do not then at all complain; our harms
On this condition please us; let us die.
And cloy the Parthian with revenge and pity,

is modeled on Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 1, 24-39:

at nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis
urbibus Italiae,
non tu, Pyrrhe ferox, nec tantis cladibus auctor
Poenus erit; nulli penitus descendere ferro
contigit; alta sedent civilis volnera dextrae.
quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni
invenere viam,
iam nihil, o Superi, querimur; scelera ista nefasque
hac mercede placent; diros Pharsalia campos
impleat, et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes.

And his later words in the same scene:

The Gods sure keep it hid from us that live
How sweet death is,

may be compared with Lucan, 4, 519-20:

victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent,
felix esse mori.

Act iv, sc. 1. Poppaea's description of the marriage of Sporus:

Was not the boy in bride-like garments drest?
Marriage-books sealed, as 'twere for issue to
Be had between you? solemn feasts prepared,
While all the court with "God give you joy" sounds?

may be compared with Juvenal, 2, 119-20:

signatae tabulae, dictum "feliciter," ingens
cena sedet,
segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit.

Act iv, sc. 2. Piso's final speech:

Why should we move desperate and hopeless arms,
And vainly spill that noble blood that should
Crystal Euphrates and the Median fields,
Not Tiber colour?
Yet am I proud you would for me have died;
But live, and keep yourselves for worthier ends.
. from the hopes
Your own good wishes rather than the thing
Do make you see, this comfort I receive
Of death unforced.
But to be long in talk of dying would
Show a relenting and a doubtful mind;
By this you shall my quiet thoughts intend:
I blame not earth nor heaven for my end,

is adapted from Otho's final speech, Tacitus, *Hist.* 2, 47:

hunc animum, hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis obicere nimis grande vitae meae pretium puto. quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. . . . an ego tantum Romanae pubis, tot egregios exercitus sterni rursus et rei publicae eripi patiar? eat hic mecum animus, tamquam perituri pro me fueritis; sed este superstites. . . . plura de extremis loqui pars ignaviae est. praecipuum destinationis meae documentum habete, quod de nemine queror; nam incusare deos vel homines eius est qui vivere velit.

Act iv, sc. 4. Lucan's lament for Piso:

The love and dainties of mankind is gone,

comes from Suetonius, *Titus*, 1, "amor ac deliciae generis humani." Scaevinus' complaint:

Our private whisperings listen'd after; nay,
Our thoughts were forced out of us and punisht;
And had it been in you to have ta'en away
Our understanding, as you did our speech,
You would have made us thought this honest too,

recalls Tacitus, *Agricola*, 2: "adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere." And his further complaint:

His robbing altars, sale of holy things,
The antique goblets of adored rust
And sacred gifts of kings and peoples old,

borrowes the language of Juvenal, 13, 147-9:

confer et hos veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.

Act iv, sc. 5. Nero's command, "Let it (*sc.* his death) be a feeling one," is borrowed from Suetonius, *Caligula*, 30, "ita feri ut se mori sentiat." Poppaea's mention of Otho, "now (under pretext of governing) exiled to Lusitania," is perhaps based on Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.13, "in provinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis posuit."

Act iv, sc. 6. Seneca's farewell to his friends:

Where are your precepts of philosophy,
Where our prepared resolution
So many years fore-studied against danger?
To whom is Nero's cruelty unknown,
Or what remain'd after his mother's blood
But his instructor's death?
But that in Seneca the which you lov'd,
Which you admir'd, doth and shall still remain, etc.,

follows Tacitus, *Annals*, 15, 62:

rogitans ubi praecepta sapientiae, ubi tot per annos meditata ratio adversum imminentia? cui enim ignaram fuisse saevitiam Neronis? neque aliud superesse post matrem fratremque interfectos quam ut educatoris praeceptorisque necem adiceret,

with a phrase from Tacitus, *Agricola*, 46, "quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est," etc. And the reply of one of his friends:

If there be any place for ghosts of good men,
 If (as we have been long taught) great men's souls
 Consume not with their bodies, thou shalt see
 (Looking out from the dwellings of the air)
 True duties to thy memory performed;
 Not in the outward pomp of funeral,
 But in remembrance of thy deeds and words,
 The oft recalling of thy many virtues,

borrowes freely from the closing chapter of the *Agricola*: "Si quis
 piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore
 extinguntur magnae animae . . . ut omnia facta dictaque eius
 secum revolvant," etc.

Act iv, sc. 7. Petronius' words:

Each best day of our life at first doth go,
 To them succeeds diseased age and woe;
 Now die your pleasures, and the days you pray
 Your rhymes and loves and jests will take away,

come from Virgil, *Geor.* 3, 66:

optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
 prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus,

and perhaps Horace, *Ep.* ii. 2, 55-57:

singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes;
 eripuerunt iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
 tendunt extorquere poemata.

And his raillery of Enanthe's fear of death:

What places dost thou fear?
 Th' ill-favour'd lake they tell thee thou must pass,
 And the black frogs that croak about the brim?

may be compared with Juvenal, 2, 149-50:

esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna
 et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras.

THE USE OF FORMAL DIALOGUE IN NARRATIVE

By BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD
University of Iowa

From the days when Job sat with his talkative friends and debated the meaning of his sufferings down to the latest novel of the hour, moral and instructive conversation has had its place in story-telling. But whereas such conversation is employed today either to further the characterization or to assist in setting the tone of a social group, there were during those years of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the novel was finding itself, a surprising number of instances where the conversation served neither of these purposes. In a sense, instructive conversation was an experiment, not wholly successful, but at the same time useful to the developing novel. It tended on the one hand to break up straight narration by introducing situations involving two or more persons in an intellectual relationship; on the other hand it developed readily into real conversation which advanced characterization and plot.

For a source, even were there no history of the use of abstract conversation in narrative, the formal dialogue and the spirit it expresses is sufficient. This type of composition, the antiquity of which rivals that of literature itself, was a factor of real importance in England from 1600 to 1750, and had especial vogue from 1640 to 1700. Moreover, the popularity of the dialogue is only one evidence of what we may term a controversial frame of mind, a liking for the opposition of ideas. The solid prose of the period is full of questions and answers, objections and answers, first personal pronouns; printed versions of trials sold with readiness; there was about the prose a dialogical tone adapted alike to discussion and to pedagogy. This tendency shows itself in every field of thought; in politics, religion, philosophy, and criticism. That it found its way into the novel need surprise no one.

The relation of formal dialogue to narration has, however, some history previous to this period. The older chivalric romances, it is true, found little time for academic discussions; though

Arthur and his knights slew giants and told marvellous tales, they lost little sleep over questions of conduct.¹ The *Gesta Romanorum*, despite the brevity of its stories, discloses occasional bits of abstract dialogue. In tale XXXVI, for example, one of the most compact and impressive of the lot, a king asks a great philosopher four questions regarding human life: "What is man?" "What is he like?" "Where is he?" and "With whom is he associated?" To these the philosopher eloquently replies, that man is "the slave of death, the guest of a day—a traveller hastily journeying to a distant land. He resembles a sheet of ice which the heat of noon certainly and rapidly dissolves. Man is in a state of multifarious war, for he has to contend against the world, the flesh, and the devil. He is associated with seven troublesome companions,—hunger, thirst, heat, cold, weariness, infirmity, and death." Fragments of dialogue appear also in LXXXIII and XCII.

That other storehouse of tales, Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, furnishes at a later date still further examples. The eleventh novel contains a brief conversation between Cyrus and a young gentleman on the favorite mediaeval topic—love. The twenty-third novel presents "A pretie disputation of the philosopher Phanorinus, to perswade a woman not to put forth her child to nurse, but to nourishe it herselfe with her own milke."

Perhaps the most important development of the device occurred in the narratives of Robert Greene. The framed narrative (derivable of course from Boccaccio and the *Heptameron*) appears in *Penelope's Web* (1587), which puts the stories told on three successive nights to no special use beyond amusement. Stories are similarly introduced in *Greenes Neuer too late* (published in two parts in 1590) and *Alcida Greenes Metamorphosis* (1588). In *Planetomachia* (1585)—prefaced by a Latin dialogue between Greene and Francis Hand defending astrology—the two stories, or "tragedies," are told by Venus and Saturn respectively to prove points in an argument. In *Perimedes The Blacke-Smith* (1588), the blacksmith and his wife talk together for some time

¹ The Continental romances disclose occasional passages approximating formal dialogue. *The Prose Life of Alexander* (E.E.T.S. Orig. Series 143, pp. 77-88) contains an exchange of letters between Alexander and Dindimus, king of the Brahmins, which treats the differences between their races as regards theories of life, and customs.

on each of three nights, each conversation ending with a story. The conversations deal with the generally unprofitable way in which many people spend their leisure, the foolishness of gaming, and the real nature of good fortune, the tales being introduced for illustrative purposes.

The opposite extreme is reached in *Greenes farewell to Folly* (1587) and *Morando, The Tritameron of Love* (1584), where the stories themselves lead to extended discussions on such topics as: whether women are the more moved by wealth or by love; which bear the pangs of love the better, men or women.²

Greene's conny-catching pamphlets use dialogue without attempt at characterization, but with some relation to incident or plot. The *Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theefe or a Whoore, is most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Commonwealth* (1592) is misleading as to title, for the speeches are largely made up of incidents. A similar plan is used in his *Vision* into which Greene, Gower, and Chaucer are introduced as speakers. Chaucer defends the light, humorous, and unmoral portions of Greene's writings, and, to illustrate his point, tells a short story of a jealous husband. Gower reprehends such an attitude, and in his turn tells a story. Then, when to Chaucer's disgust, Greene has announced his intentions to follow Gower's soberer advice, Solomon appears to approve his decision.³

Owing some debt to his predecessors, and yet markedly original is Thomas Dekker, author of *The Batchelars Banquet* (1603). Here, suspended in a solution of narrative, are a series of dialogues upon such topics as "The humour of a young wife new married," "the humour of a woman that marries her inferiour by birth," "the humour of a woman that still desires to be gad-ding abroad." In all there is naturalness of speech and much life and humor; and yet no characterization beyond the illustration of

² For an instance of such a disputation approaching the dramatic see Anthony Munday, *Zelauto. The Fountaine of Fame. Erected in an Orchard of Amorous Adventures. Containing a Delicate Disputation, gallantly discoursed betweene two noble gentlemen of Italye. Given for a friendly Entertainment to Euphues, at his late arrival in England*—n.d.

³ For a closer approach to the dramatic see Greene's *Debate betweene Follie and Lowe, translated out of French* (1584) and *Quip for an Upstart Courtier: or A quaint dispute between Velvet breeches and Cloth-breeches* (1592); this last is continued in Barnabe Rich's *Greene's Newes both from Heauen and Hell* (1593).

types. In some ways related to the formal character, the book is also a sort of novelist's commonplace book.

Abstract dialogue occurs but once in the formal romances of Greene,⁴ not at all in those of Lodge. Solitary instances only are discoverable in Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590), and Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1614-18). Barclay's *Argenis* (1621), however, has discussions of the frequent injustice done brave and noble men at court, of the justice and desirability of royalty by inheritance, and of the influence upon a man's conduct of belief in astrology.

Compared, however, with the conversations which occur in Nathanael Ingelo's *Bentivolio and Urania* (1660), this is child's play. With Ingelo, the whole latter part of the work is devoted to a series of disputations concerning religious and moral questions. On page 76 a part of a declamation against Knowledge is repeated for our benefit, together with the speech made in reply: on page 99 we are entertained by a disputation concerning Transubstantiation; on page 128 the conversation treats the relation of religion to philosophy; a little later two young women discourse on the part of Charity in the Divine plan; while Books V and VI are chiefly devoted to long disputations regarding the relation of happiness to goodness and the reasonableness of belief in the Deity. One seriously questions whether the author did not choose the form of a romance as a mere vehicle for his ideas.

Of the materials and style of the romances of Scudery and Calprenede it is unnecessary to speak. The fantastic themes of their interminable disputations have been effectively satirized by Charlotte Lennox in her *Female Quixote* (1752). The date of this satire and the number of translations of these French works must, however, make clear the long continued influence and the wide familiarity of writers and readers with abstract conversation in narrative.

Native English works are quite as fond of abstract discussion, but show more disposition to introduce topics of a timely nature. Edward Pettit's *Visions of the Reformation* (1683), after picturing Charles I "with a Crown of Light upon his head," seated by the Virgin Mary, concludes with a dialogue upon strictly theological topics. *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605), an early work by

⁴ *Mamília*, Vol. II, pp. 40-52, Huth ed.

Bishop Joseph Hall, begins with a considerable conversation concerning the uses of foreign travel. The principles of education, philosophy, religion, and romance are debated at length in *Nova Solyma* (1648), the novel brought out in 1902 and for a time mistakenly attributed to John Milton. Without question, the pointed character of some of the allusions, and the coincidence of educational ideas with those uttered in the *Tractate on Education* lend a certain plausibility to the guess.

In *A Description of a New World called The Blazing World* (1666) by Margaret (Lucas) Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, the characters debate whether animal creatures within the seas have blood; and hold conferences on logic, chemistry, and medicine. Speakers named respectively Astrae, Virtue, and Intelligence appear in Mrs. Manley's *Secret Memoirs of several Persons of Quality of Both Sexes from the New Atlantis* (1709). Here, however, the real purpose is scandal peddling—an aim shared with Charles Johnston's *Chrysal: The Adventures of a Guinea* (1760-5) published a half-century later.⁵

Among less known works of this type Howell's *Parley of Beasts* (1660) is one of the most interesting. Pererius visits the region presided over by Morphandra, and peopled with animals which were originally men. As a favor to her guest, Morphandra agrees to give to them for the time the powers of thought and speech, and to restore to human form any whom the visitor can bring to request the change. He converses in turn with an otter which had been a Dutch skipper; an ass which had been a French peasant; an ape which had been an English preacher; a hind, a Venetian beauty; a mule, a Spanish doctor of physic; etc. His efforts are in every case unsuccessful, the animals all expressing their contempt for man, and their satisfaction with their present lot. The device, however, permits various digressions. Pererius and the ass discuss the evil results of an over-numerous nobility; the ape relates a marvellous dream in which, being carried to Hades, he attends a conference at which Pluto hears reports from the Three Furies who have been busy for the past forty years in England, stirring up war and insurrection; with the hind the

⁵ Johnston gives us, however, (Chap. XIII, Book II) a conversation between a poet and a manager concerning the contemporary stage and the laws of the drama.

visitor holds a long argument on the position and rights of women; with the mule he discusses the faults of physicians, and the relation of soul and body; the fox discourses on the science of government; with the bee there is a long discussion of the immortality of the soul. The style is smooth and graceful, and there is abundant evidence of Howell's learning. It is perhaps worth pointing out that such a work might have had some part in suggesting Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.⁶

Reference should also be made at this point to Samuel Hartlib's *Description of the famous Kingdom of Macaria* (1641).⁷ The government in this remarkable country is administered by five councils or commissions. An inheritance tax provides funds for building permanent highways. Unimproved land is penalized one year, doubly penalized the next year, quadruple penalization follows, then forfeiture. A proper number of tradesmen is assured by varying the length of service required from apprentices. The steady establishment of new plantations with surplus population and at public cost is provided for. A Bureau of Public Health investigates all remedies. The entire development of these interesting theories and others equally attractive is by means of dialogue between a scholar and a traveller.

Material of an essentially narrative character is sometimes included in books the titles of which would suggest an entirely different character. The third part of *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies* (1684) by one Thomas Tryon consists of "A Discourse in way of Dialogue between an Ethiopian or Negro-Slave, and a Christian that was his Master" in America. It is a holiday and Sambo has strolled into the presence of his master with the plain intention of doing good if the opportunity offers. The master imprudently opens the conversation and in return receives a lecture which Sambo, strong in the knowledge of being the mouthpiece of the author, delivers with rare unction. Having led his master to state all the

⁶ Howell may fairly be said to have had the dialogue habit. The Thomason Catalogue lists four of his tracts: two of a political nature appeared in 1643, a third in 1653, *The Vision: or a dialog between the soul and the bodie* in 1652. He also published in 1662 a highly interesting and amusing guide-book entitled *A New English Grammar—a discours or dialog containing a perambulation of Spain and Portugal*.

⁷ *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 580.

chief qualities and principles of Christianity, he then applies the tests to the master's own life. The results are not flattering. He next proceeds to deduce from these same principles a proper conception of the rights and capacities of the negro. Quoting scriptural authorities with an abandon remarkable in one who has so recently sought instruction in the fundamentals of the faith, he drives home his notions of the rights of man. The conception would not now be regarded as revolutionary, and indeed struck the master as so reasonable, that he repented and resolved to do better. Some of the phrases are remarkable:

I pray boon Master! What difference has our Creator made between you and us? Hath he endued you with any particular Quality or Property more than we are furnished with? The Members of our Bodies, the Faculties of our Minds, our Senses and all the Furniture of Nature, are equal, and the same in us as in you:—As for our Complexion; 'tis the livery of our Creator, the property of the Climate and Soil, wherein his good Providence disposed us to be born and bred, we made not ourselves Black, nor do you make your selves White; wherein have you then anything to brag of above us?

The demand is not for freedom, but for better treatment. Despite manifest absurdities of style, the tract possesses vigor and sometimes touches of eloquence.

In the case of *The Club* (1711) by James Puckle, dialogue is used as framework for a series of "characters." The father asks the son where he was the night before. He son replies, at the tavern. He then proceeds to describe each of the characters, and the father comments upon them, moralizing and pointing lessons. Thus, with the antiquary he insists that we may admire the ancients without bowing down to them. Of the Buffoon he says, few men can walk the narrow line between wit and buffoonery; that the joker usually himself becomes a joke. A critic signifies, he says, "no more than a fault-finder." There is little attempt to differentiate the son from the father. The latter merely carries on the character the son presents. Each "character" closes with the words "Go on" from the father.

The works of John Bunyan vary widely in their employment of dialogue. Whereas the *Holy War* (1682) makes dialogue subordinate to narrative exigencies, *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* (1680) utilizes many abstract discussions for didactic purposes, sometimes fortifying them with stories introduced as illustrations.

Pilgrim's Progress affords examples of conversation of all kinds. Naturally formal dialogue would fall well into Bunyan's moral plan.

In Henry Brooke's didactic *Fool of Quality* (1766) dialogue is transformed into a curious filler between chapters. The "friend" and the "author" talk about toys, ghosts, heroism, the activity of the critics. Sometimes the dialogue is used as a practical aid to the presentation of the story, or as a sort of chorus, commenting on what is happening.

Probably most amusing among the users of formal dialogue is Thomas Amory, author of that ever-delightful work, *The Life of John Bunce* (1756). On one occasion, for example, the hero, who has broken a command of the superlative Miss Noel by exclaiming upon her charms, is ordered by her to recommence his conversation upon the inspiration of the Scriptures. Strange to say, he does so. A few pages later, a similar punishment sets him off on a dissertation concerning the confusion of Babel. Apparently, he took the lesson to heart, for, in later years, despite his persistent attachment for the tenderer sex (undimmed despite his seven marriages) he seized every convenient opportunity for serious conversation. With Mrs. Price he debates for more than forty pages as to which is the better evidence of Christianity, the prophecies, or the miracles. Similar conferences occur with Azora, Miss Harcourt, Bob Berrisfort, and the Doctor. With Miss Spence he discusses philosophy, with Ribble chemistry. As a part of one of his seven proposals, this time to the matchless Statia, he even extols propagation of the species as part of the divine plan.

Amory's liking for dialogue is further demonstrated by his inclusion in the second volume of his own "translation of the charming mythological picture of Cebes." This he prints for three pages in parallel columns with "A Translation of the Mythological Picture of Cebes: By the Rev. and famous Jeremy Collier." Collier's version is, he points out, the more colloquial—a fact upon which Bunce himself comments in a footnote (p. 464) explaining these expressions as resulting from Collier's youthful acquaintance with low company.

The abstract tone which marks the conversations in *Rasselas* is coupled with that tendency to monologue which occasionally appeared in those conversations to which the great doctor was a

party. When, for instance, we hear Imlac declaiming upon the fact that "in almost all countries the most ancient poets are considered the best," we think we know the speaker; and as he adds, "My desire of excellence impelled me to transfer my attention to nature and to life. Nature was to be my subject, and men to be my auditors: I could never describe what I had not seen; I could not hope to move those with delight or terroure whose interest and opinions I did not understand," we know that this is not Imlac, but the Great Cham himself.

From the preceding pages it must be clear that for writers with reforms to achieve, principles to establish, or truths to assert, the dialogue was not only available and useful, but highly inviting.

In the hands of a very few authors there is a tendency to employ the devices of the stage. The skits by Sarah Fielding: *Much Ado: a Dialogue* (1744), *Fashion: a Dialogue* (1746), and *The Cry: a new Dramatic Fable* (1754), are distinctly of this class. Less obviously dramatic are the dialogues in the *Adventures of David Simple* (1744), and her didactic piece, *The Governess: or the Little Female Academy* (1749). In Mrs. Eliza Haywood's *The Invisible Spy* (1755), the plan is frankly avowed. In introducing the first of her labelled dialogues she says: "The business on which this man came into the room was no way pleasing to Varramond; but because I would avoid the troublesome repetition of—said he,—and reply'd he,—and resum'd the other, and such like introductions to every speech, I shall present all those dialogues which are proper to be communicated to the public, in the same manner as in the printed copies of theatrical performances." The dialogues smack of the stage in more than the form of printing. The briskness of exchange, the introduction of the stage Irishman with his brogue and humor, and of a dialogue between Lysetta and a fortune-teller calculated merely to amuse, all seem hardly to belong to the novel. Even when one speech appears alone, it is tagged in the dramatic manner, and once the author even labels a soliloquy.

Nor must we forget in this connection Swift's *Polite Conversations*, which, though written as a satire upon the emptiness and triteness of fashionable talk, so pleased his readers that the scenes

were several times acted without the slightest feeling that the language was anything but worthy of emulation.⁸

The small use of formal dialogue made by Defoe and his four famous successors is one of the significant marks of their greatness. Defoe in particular deserves credit for abandoning the device, not merely because he happened to come first, but because he had elsewhere made such extensive use of it. His pioneering venture in the field of the periodical, *The Review*, leans heavily on dialogue, especially in the later volumes.⁹ His *Religious Courtship* (1722) and *Family Instructor* (1715, 1718, 1727), both tremendously popular, are written entirely in dialogue. These two works, commonly neglected, are important both because of intrinsic merit and because of their combination of characterization with abstract dialogue.

The full title of the first reads, *Religious Courtship; Being Historical Discourses on the Necessity of Marrying Religious Husbands and Wives only*. The father, though clearly drawn, is surpassed in individuality by the two daughters, who are delicately differentiated. The conversations are natural and in character, and the situations of the different dialogues interesting. The basic principle, that a young person should not marry an unreligious person, or one of a different religion, is taught "historically," as Defoe calls it, i. e. by a narrative example, rather than by precept. Of this method, Defoe says, "Historical dialogues, it must be confessed, have a very taking element in them, and

⁸ Other experiments by Swift in this manner were his *Dialogue in the Castilian Language* (1707), wherein he satirizes punning as the vice of the vice-regal circle; his *Dialogue between A and B* (c. 1728) a collection of Iricisms; *The Consultation of Four Physicians upon a Lord that was dying*, "a new specimen of composition which consists all of Latin words, but by allowing for false spelling and running the words into each other, the sentences would contain good sense in English"; and his *Tripes* (1721) for an explanation of which see Scott, *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, Boston, 1883, VI, 21.) *The History of John Bull* (1712?), generally credited to Arbuthnot, also has a large element of dialogue.

⁹ No less an authority than Professor Trent in speaking of the *Review* has said that "Defoe's chief contribution to journalism at this period—is to be found in his abandonment of the dialogue form and of the partisan tone of his predecessors and immediate contemporaries." With the last half of this statement we need not quarrel, and one may even grant that the abandonment of the dialogue form was from many aspects desirable; but the assertion that Defoe did abandon dialogue is misleading. The *Review* contained, it is perfectly true, much less dialogue than many of its predecessors and immediate contemporaries, but it still contained an astonishingly

the short story being handed forward in short periods, and quick returns, makes the retaining it in the mind the easier, and the impression the more lasting as well as delightful."

The third part of the *Family Instructor* is particularly interesting. The pious apothecary whose family relations are here involved, is described at the beginning at some length, and the ideal character of his relations with his children particularized. The first dialogue, between the father and the eldest son, who contemplates a journey to Italy, is easily introduced, and concluded naturally. The father is unwilling that the boy shall go until he has by study fortified himself against such customary machinations of the Papists as he outlines in the dialogue. The son thinks himself too old for such study, and the father, despite his misgivings, is prevailed on to let him go. The boy returns a Papist and tries to convert his brothers and sisters. The domestic trouble resulting is briefly described, and the occasions for the second dialogue suggested. Although it begins with a discussion between the second son and his sister as to the desirability of the reading of romance, it is soon turned by the father to a discussion of the Papacy.

In the third dialogue, in which we have the older brother and a Catholic friend meeting the Protestant brother and sister, a spirited battle ensues, in which the characters are well distinguished. The girl, too, speaks like a real girl, not a puppet. Out of the continued efforts of the older son grow the concluding dialogues in which the Protestant brother and sister discuss with the father the points brought up in the argument.¹⁰

large amount. It is, moreover, plain that if Defoe determined at first to avoid dialogue he must later have changed his mind, for while one encounters in the first two volumes only questions and answers, and brief snatches of dialogue, he finds in volume three a conversation begun on page 651 and carried on in the six following numbers, in volume four perhaps a dozen isolated dialogues, and in the first part of volume five half as many more. And then on page 147 of volume five begins a dialogue between Defoe and a Mad Man which appears in no fewer than thirty-four consecutive numbers and is one of the liveliest features of the magazine—clever, witty, delightfully colloquial, and never out of character. Moreover, Defoe's emphasis upon it is shown by the fact that it sometimes begins an issue, often contains editorial matter, and in at least one case (V No. 50) forms the whole body of the issue. Throughout the remaining volumes dialogues occur occasionally, much as through the earlier ones.

¹⁰ A much less successful attempt at the sort is John Goodwin's *Conferences between Neighbors* (1684-6).

Considerable sections of dialogue occur also in *Due Preparation for the Plague* (1722) and in *Robinson Crusoe*. Certain of the novels—*Captain Singleton* (1720), *Colonel Jack* (1722), *Roxana* (1724), and *Jonathan Wild* (1725)—introduced occasional passages of conversation in which the speakers were labelled drama-fashion. Such bits, however, are always closely related to the plot.

Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, and Smollet all eschewed the dialogue. Richardson's free use of the letter as a device furnished an easy substitute. Fielding employs the word "*dialogue*" frequently in chapter headings, and occasionally introduces topics of an abstract nature, but never forgets characterization. Sterne's innuendo and playful witticisms are so delightful to himself as well as to his reader that he is loth to resign the stage even to his own creatures. Of Smollett nothing need be said except that like Francis Coventry, Frances Sheridan, John Moore, Robert Paltock, Eaton Barrett, Fanny Burney, Charlotte Smith, and a host of others, he had learned to get along without formal dialogue. Nor, let it be added, has formal dialogue any part in the novel of terror.

Thus, its limitations came to be quite as clearly recognized as its uses. Just as later dramatists found other forms of exposition to replace the prologue and the soliloquy, so the more expert novelists discovered that conversation very properly might, indeed must, advance either plot or characterization. This increasing skill, coupled with a growing demand for brevity, has largely eliminated formal dialogue.

Seldom after 1750, and still less frequently after 1800 do we encounter it. Hannah More had grown so accustomed to its use in the numerous tracts with which she undertook to better the condition of the poor that when she came to write *Coelebs In Search of a Wife* (1808) the habit held her. In one chapter her characters discuss Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination*. In subsequent chapters various theological topics are considered in turn. Here it was the pedagogical impulse, or if one likes, the reforming tendency which accounts for its employment. Mrs. Inchbald's *Nature and Art* (1796), which aims to throw into opposition sophisticated self-deceit and unspoiled frankness, uses the same plan.

The immensely successful "Sunday-School books" of Mrs. Mary Martha Sherwood, notably *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818, 1842, 1847), *Little Henry and his Bearer*, *Stories on the Church Catechism*, and *The Lady of the Manor* (1825-9), illustrate the ease with which a writer, once arrived at a *Sanford and Merton* state of mind, employs a *Sanford and Merton* type of dialogue.

Even so cultivated a person as Harriet Martineau—for Mrs. Sherwood, alas, makes many a grammatical slip—when she comes to write her Novels on Political Economy turns to the same device. Her settlers in South Africa sit among the ruins of their homes and discuss the changing nature of Wealth.¹¹ The characters in *The Hill and the Valley* expound Capital; those in *Brooke and Brooke Farm*, the advantages of the division of labor.

For such practical minded persons as these, dialogue is obviously convenient and useful. But among outright novels, it is only in such crude products as *Fatherless Fanny*, once called the work of the luckless Clara Reeve, but now left like its heroine parentless, that it appears to point a moral and adorn a tale. Twice, it is true, in the introduction of his novels *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), and *Peveril of the Peak* (1822), does Scott employ the device, but wholly transformed in character—personal, self-characterizing, sparkling with the wit which is so often hid in the pages of his novels themselves. But even in these two instances it is relegated to a place quite outside the story.

And yet the services of the dialogue in encouraging conversation and characterization are not to be ignored. Its very faults and limitations pointed the way to a better art. Like the character, the periodical essay, the narrative sketch, and the romance, it contributed its part to the perfecting of the novel.

¹¹ *Life in the Wilds*, Chap. III.

DANTE INTERESTS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

By EMILIO GOGGIO
University of Toronto

Dante did not begin to acquire any degree of popularity in America till about the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that time one may say that his name was practically unknown to the American people. Yet this should not be a matter of great surprise, for one can easily conceive that a poem like the *Divina Commedia*, full of old Italian forms and intricate constructions and containing so many allegorical passages the interpretation of which still puzzles even the greatest of Italian scholars themselves, could not possibly have a very wide appeal in a foreign country.

Thomas Jefferson, a pioneer in the study of Italian, was one of the first Americans to read the Divine Comedy in the original, but he frankly admits that he derived very little enjoyment from it and that he much preferred the poems of Metastasio, of Tasso and of the minor Italian poets. The same no doubt must have been true of everyone else who attempted a similar task. As long as there existed no English translation of the *Commedia*, no great interest in Italy's master poet could be reasonably expected in America. To be sure, copies of Boyd's and Carey's versions of the poem, published in England in 1802 and in 1814 respectively, found a place very early in the private libraries of some cultured persons of the oldest stock in America, but such works were so scarce and so difficult to obtain that the influence exerted by them at that time must have been very limited indeed. It was only with the appearance in 1822 of an American edition of Carey's translation that a new vogue was given to the genius of Dante in this country.¹ However, the promotion and diffusion of the study of Dante in America was due not only to the publication of this excellent work, but also, and in a very large

¹ "An edition of Carey's translation reprinted in Boston many years ago," writes Margaret Fuller Ossoli in 1842, "was rapidly sold, and for the last 20 years all studious youths and maidens have been reading the *Inferno*."

measure, to the personal efforts and accomplishments of George Ticknor, the first notable Dantist in this country and the first to open to the American college student the books of the great poet.

Unable to get the proper assistance in reading the *Divina Commedia* at home, Ticknor, upon his arrival in Europe in 1815, immediately engaged the services of a notable scholar, Herr Balhorn, who successfully guided him in the study of it.

"Before I left home," he wrote from Germany, "I had made several attempts to read Dante, and found it not only difficult to get a copy, but impossible to get help in reading. Balhorn knew everything about Dante. He was not fully occupied but he could not be hired. He was too well off to be paid in money. A brother of my friend Mr. James Savage had sent me from Hambourg a box of fine Havana cigars and I found that Herr Balhorn would read and explain Dante to me, and consider some of those fine cigars, so rare in Germany, a full compensation, and he continued the reading certainly as long as the cigars lasted."

During his Professorship at Harvard University (1819-1835) Ticknor gave a course of lectures on Dante's life and works, the first and for a long time the only course of its kind in America, for, with the exception of Bowdoin,² Columbia, and Pennsylvania, American institutions of learning did not begin to offer instruction in Dante till late in the 'seventies, and many of them not till very much later.

In 1832 Ticknor made a special study of the *Divine Comedy*, his object being, as may be judged by his manuscripts still extant, to publish a critical edition, which, however, never appeared. Four years later, during his second trip to Europe, he was invited to the court of the Prince of Saxony together with Tieck, Professor Förster, Dr. Carus and Count Baudissin to take part in the final revision of the prince's translation of the *Inferno*, which goes to show that his reputation as a Dante scholar was already well established not only in his own country but also abroad.

Ticknor's activities in Dante, moreover, were not confined within the walls of Harvard University, but extended far beyond them; and he endeavored to create an interest in the Italian

² At Bowdoin College Dante was first taught by Longfellow in 1829; at Columbia and Pennsylvania by Lorenzo da Ponte in 1830 and 1832 respectively.

poet not only among students but also among his intimate friends and acquaintances. With that purpose in view, he often invited them to his house to hear some cultured Italian read from the *Divina Commedia* and discussed with them the most important points involved in the passages read. The result was that those who attended these meetings would almost invariably follow up the discussion with private study and investigations which they referred to Ticknor for further suggestions or criticism. Thus William Prescott in a long letter to Ticknor gives him his first impressions of the *Divine Comedy*. He enumerates the many features of it which seemed most striking to him—the simplicity of its style, its unrivalled similes which “fit like a ring to a finger,” the simple and familiar allusions taken from the most intimate relations of domestic life. He points out the wonderful development both of action and of characters in the *Inferno*, the delicious descriptions of natural scenery in the *Purgatorio*, and the incomparable beauties of the *Paradiso*.

In an article published in 1831 on the “Poetry and Romances of the Italians,” Prescott again dwells at some length on the *Divina Commedia*, in which, as he says, the world saw for the first time the genius of modern literature fully displayed and the capacities of modern idiom clearly exemplified in its ripe and vigorous versification.

While Ticknor was so enthusiastically carrying on in Cambridge, teachers of Italian were working elsewhere toward the same end with great ardor and gratifying success. In New York Lorenzo da Ponte was giving private instruction in Dante to a large number of American young men and women, and in Boston Margaret Fuller read with her classes in the Alcott School the whole 100 cantos of the *Divina Commedia* with the aid of Flaxman’s designs and all the best commentaries.

Thus by 1831 the interest in Dante already seemed to be so general that Prescott in his article above mentioned, purposely refrains from discussing Dante’s poem on the ground that he did not think it worth while to trouble his readers with a particular criticism of so *popular* a work as the *Divina Commedia*.

With Longfellow’s appointment as successor to Ticknor at Harvard in 1835 the study of Dante in this country made another great stride, for he not only continued faithfully and diligently

the work of his predecessor, but by his Dante lectures within and outside the University, by his translation of the *Divine Comedy*, by his active participation in the Dante Club and the Dante Society, by the steadfast devotion which he professed at all times to the immortal poet, he exerted a most powerful influence upon all that came into close contact with him; so much so that those who belonged to his intimate circle, such as Sumner, Hillard, Edward Everett, Thomas Parsons, Washington Greene, Bryant, Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton and others, were all in a certain degree, admirers and students of Dante.

Charles Sumner, one of Longfellow's warmest friends, made a careful study of the *Divina Commedia*, going over, as he tells us, a tremendous mass of notes and annotations and consulting many different editions of the poem. Among the references to Italian authors which appear here and there in his works we find a few bearing upon Dante. In his "War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," Sumner alludes to the poet's ardent love of peace, and in another oration³ he borrows from Dante his famous definition of worldly glory.

Well does the master poet of Italy say
Naught is the mundane glory, but a breath
Of wind, that now comes this way and now that.
And changes name because it changes place.

George Stillman Hillard, the popular author of two volumes of *Travels in Italy*, more than five thousand copies of which were sold in a single year, gives evidence of his knowledge of Dante in his Phi Beta Kappa address,⁴ in which he emphasized the vast significance of the poet's masterpiece from the standpoint of religion, philosophy, and science, and called attention to its artistic form, the vitality and sublimity of its verse, the grandeur and picturesqueness of its distinct and precise scenes.

Edward Everett, president of Harvard University during Longfellow's professorship in that institution, left us a poem in which he refers to Dante's exile and inveighs against Florence for having banished from her walls her most illustrious son.⁵

³ "Fame and Glory."

⁴ "The Relation of the Poet to his Age," a discourse delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University on Thursday, August 24, 1843, by George Stillman Hillard.

⁵ This poem was written on the occasion of the author's visit to the church of Santa Croce in Florence in 1818.

I feel thy awful presence; lo, thy bust,
 Thy urn, oh Dante, not alas thy dust.
 Florence, that drove thee living from her gate,
 Waits for that dust, in vain, and long shall wait.
 Ravenna! keep thy glorious exile's trust,
 And teach remorseless factions to be just
 While the poor Cenotaph, which bears his name,
 Proclaims at once his praise, his country's shame.⁶

Reminiscences from Dante are found in Everett's orations on "Popular Education" and "American Literature," in which particular stress is laid upon the marvelous power of Dante's mind which is felt indirectly by thousands who have never even read a single line of the divine poem.

Thomas Parsons, one of the well known characters in the *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, committed most of the *Commedia* to memory while walking in the streets of Florence and Ravenna through which Dante himself had passed. In 1843 he gave to the press his translation of the *First Ten Cantos of the Inferno*, and encouraged by the favorable reception which it received, he published in 1865 his *Seventeen Cantos of the Inferno*, which were followed in 1875 by the *First Nine Cantos of the Purgatorio*. Parson's poem "On a Bust of Dante" is also a noteworthy contribution to the study of the Italian poet's life, genius and character.

We may say, therefore, that the period extending from Longfellow's settlement in Cambridge to the day of his death, was doubtless the most significant in the history of Dante in America. It marks the time when the whole atmosphere of Cambridge and Boston seemed to be saturated with the spirit of the famous poet and every one was more or less affected by it. So that in addition to the men already mentioned we find that Andrews Norton talked over Dante questions with Dr. Parsons and encouraged him in his

⁶ "Santa Croce."

⁷ Here, as an illustration of how some men struggled and conquered under circumstances which were most unfriendly to the improvement of the mind, Everett mentions among others Dante, who was banished from the very land he had immortalized by his fame. He also refers to him as a prophet enlightened by divine truth in an age of superstition, and cites from the *Divine Comedy* the inscription on the gates of Hell and the beautiful lines on the setting day.

translation of the *Commedia*,⁸ and we hear of Dr. Channing reading bits of Dante and discussing the material sublime with Margaret Fuller, the same who, feeling that Emerson's interest in the poet had not been sufficiently aroused, proceeded to translate the *Vita Nuova* and sent him a copy that he might read it and become more interested.⁹ Julia Ward Howe familiarized herself with Dante's life and in her verses on "The Price of the *Divina Commedia*" gave expression to her heartfelt sympathy for the poet's sufferings and woes; William Cullen Bryant, on the sixth centenary of Dante's birth, writes a delightful little poem¹⁰ in which he accentuates the powerful influence exerted in past centuries over the whole human race by the poet "whose hand brought and scattered, as far as sight can reach, the seeds of free and living thought on the broad field of modern speech."

This too was the period of the Dante Club organized for the final revision of Longfellow's translation of the *Divine Comedy*. How great a part was played in it by Lowell and Norton is now generally known, but few perhaps are aware of the invaluable assistance given to Longfellow by one of its members—George Washington Greene, the distinguished author of a number of essays on Italian literature and Italian history. A few excerpts from the translator's correspondence with him may therefore be of interest here. On April 2, 1863, Longfellow writes:

"If I have not written to you since your departure, you are to blame utterly, entirely and *tutto quanto*. You wound me up on Dante, and I have been running on ever since, striking the Cantos regularly every day. . . . I want you to come and pass a week or two with me; all the mornings to be devoted to the *gran padre* of Italian song."

On January 13, 1866, Longfellow asks Greene's opinion on the

⁸ "Among those who encouraged Dr. Parsons to proceed with his translation," writes Charles Eliot Norton, "it is pleasant to recall was my father, and almost the earliest of my own associations with Dante are connected with the friendly criticism and discussion between him and the young translator."

⁹ "It has never seemed to me," Margaret Fuller wrote to Emerson, "that you entered enough into the genius of the Italian to apprehend the mind which has seemed so great to me and a star unlike if not higher than all the others in our sky. Else I should have given you the original rather than any version of mine."

¹⁰ "Dante."

translation of certain obscure phrases in the XI Canto of the *Paradiso*, and on June 5th, of the same year, upon notifying him that the last meeting of the Dante Club was to be held on the thirteenth of that month, he adds:

"Before you come, read over the last canto of the *Paradise*, so as to be armed at all points and to speak oracularly from the Green Arm Chair."

After the Dante Club came the Dante Society, organized (1880) as Norton stated, "for the promotion of Dante studies in America and the cherishing of the love and honor of the poet in the lives of the few of the better class of students of a generation younger than our own." This society was extremely successful, and thanks to its initiative the Harvard Library is now in possession of one of the largest and best Dante collections in this country.

The leading spirits of this organization were Longfellow, Lowell, and Norton, whose achievements in Italian are so familiar to most people that they need not be discussed here. In passing, however, we may mention the fact that during the year 1867 these eminent scholars held a number of Saturday evening gatherings at which they would go over Norton's translation of the *Vita Nuova*, which was to appear as a companion volume to Longfellow's *Divine Comedy*. In an effort to bring within the reach of the American public the best works of Dante, Longfellow agreed to translate the *Divine Comedy*; Norton, the *Vita Nuova*; Greene, Dante's *Letters*; and Lowell, the *Canzoni*. Unfortunately this plan was not fully carried out. The *Letters* never appeared, and neither did the *Canzoni*, which were replaced by Lowell's "Essay on Dante."

As teachers of Dante both Lowell and Norton proved themselves worthy successors of Ticknor and Longfellow. This was particularly true of Norton, whose scholarship in Italian was unquestionably far superior to Lowell's. His one ambition had been that of being professor of Dante in the ideal university—and when his dream came true he showed that he was indeed well fitted for the task.

"To read Dante with Mr. Norton," writes Roscoe Thayer, "was almost an act of worship. There was in his voice something wonderfully stirring and wholly incommunicable. . . . He explained fully from every side,—verbal, textual, literary, spiritual,

and even when he did not pause to suggest the parallel between Dante's examples and our modern instances, he left no doubt of their pertinence to ourselves. Yet with all this there was no hint of preaching, no attempt, so common among German expounders, to twist Dante's text to fit a theory. In his interpretation of Dante he had one immense advantage which neither Lowell nor any other English speaking Dantist has possessed: he had a specialist's knowledge of mediaeval art. So the thirteenth century lived for him not merely in its poetry, theology and chronicles, but in its painting and statues, in its churches and town-halls, in its palaces and dwellings. These arts, needless to say, had then an extraordinary representative value which they do not possess at all to-day; and only he who knows them intimately can compass the whole circle of the experience and the ideals of that world of which the *Divine Comedy* 'is the supreme expression in language.'"¹¹ When Norton was made professor emeritus, he still continued at his will his Dante class, which marks his incessant devotion to his beloved poet. His translation of the *Vita Nuova*¹² and the *Divina Commedia*¹³ are standard works which have had as yet no equal in clearness and precision of diction.

Notwithstanding the fact that all the writers mentioned thus far are identified with Cambridge or Boston, it should be noted that the interest in Dante was by no means confined to these two cities. It existed also in other parts of the country, in greater or lesser measure, among those who had either received their training abroad or had been students at Harvard; and from some of them, too, we have fine contributions.

Hugh Swinton Legaré, for instance, a native of South Carolina, who studied in Europe with Ticknor, displayed an uncommon familiarity with the works of the Italian poet. In his Essay we

¹¹ *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, Vol. II, p. 105.

¹² 1859.

¹³ 1891-92.

find quotations from the *Divina Commedia*¹⁴ and allusions to Dante's profound love for Beatrice.¹⁵

Henry Calvert, a native of Baltimore, who was educated at Harvard in Ticknor's time, in his dissertation on "Alfieri and Dante" touches upon Dante's life experiences and woes, which he defines as "the soil that fed and ripened his conceptions." He also gives us to understand that he read the *Commedia* in the original, so as not to miss the freshness and unworn vigor which are there alone in Dante's Italian, and makes us feel that his criticism of the poem is the result of a careful, conscientious and critical study.

Richard Henry Wilde, who spent the greater part of his life in Georgia and North Carolina and passed a number of years in Italy, wrote a Life of Dante, which however was never published, and he was largely responsible for the discovery and restoration in the Bargello of a portrait of Dante by Giotto,¹⁶ which through carelessness or inadvertence had been covered with whitewash.¹⁷

¹⁴ In "Lord Byron's Character and Writings," speaking of the frightful views of human destiny as expressed by some of the foremost writers in the world, Legaré quotes Dante's description of his arrival in Hell.

Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai
Risonavan per l'aer senza stelle,
Perch'io al cominciar ne lagrimai,
Diverse lingue, orribile favelle,
Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle.

(*Inferno*, III, 22)

In the same essay he compares Manfred's woeful words,
"Accursed! What have I to do with length of days,
They are too long already,"

with the line "non hanno speranza di morte" which suggests a similar thought and is used by Dante in depicting the consuming "ennui" of the souls in limbo who are shut out from the beatitude of heaven and endure no other punishment than the total lack of all interest and enjoyment.

¹⁵ Byron's love for Miss Chaworth is likened by Legaré to Dante's ardent devotion for Beatrice, whose spirit dwelt in heaven and inspired him with holy hopes and aspirations.

In his "Roman Literature" the author refers to the distant, mysterious, and adoring love which inspired Dante's muse, and compares it with the sensuality of the amatory poetry of Catullus.

¹⁶ Whether Wilde or Kirkup was the real discoverer of this portrait is a question which is not yet definitely settled. For interesting information on the matter see Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante*.

¹⁷ "This discovery of a veritable portrait of Dante in the prime of his days," says Washington Irving, "produced throughout Italy some such sensation as in England would follow the sudden discovery of a perfectly well authenticated likeness of Shakespeare, with a difference in intensity proportioned to the superior sensitiveness of the Italians."

Brief mention should also be made here of Estelle Anna Lewis of Maryland, who in a poem, "My Study," alludes to Dante's description of the infernal world; to Mrs. Margaret J. Preston of Virginia, whose verses on "Dante's Exile" refer to the poet's undying love for his native Florence and to his constant failure in finding on earth the peace and tranquillity which he so eagerly longed for; and finally to Mrs. Sarah A. Dorsey of Louisiana, who in her "Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen" (1856) speaks of the fair Beatrice who guided Dante upward into the resplendent regions of everlasting light.

In summing up, we may say that the cult of Dante, which was originally brought to America from England, received its first notable impulse from the American reprint of Carey's translation of the *Divina Commedia*; it was further developed by the united and untiring efforts of Ticknor, Longfellow, Lowell, and Norton, eminent Dante teachers as well as scholars, who succeeded in making of Cambridge and Boston the great centre of Dante studies. Then again, through the publication of new editions of the *Commedia*, through the noteworthy contributions by members of Longfellow's circle and others, through the gradual introduction of Dante courses in all the leading American colleges and universities, this interest became so widespread that by the end of the nineteenth century no one could have any claim to culture without showing some acquaintance at least with Italy's foremost poet, Dante Alighieri.

A WORD-LIST FROM PIONEER IOWA AND AN INQUIRY INTO IOWA DIALECT ORIGINS

By FRANK LUTHER MOTT
University of Iowa

When the Border Ruffians wished to stop Yankee immigration into Kansas in 1854, they were hard put to it to devise adequate means of determining whether a given immigrant was of Yankee origin or not. Cross-examining the "newcomer" on the subject was useless, for what mere Border Ruffian could expect to cope with Yankee guile? Informed as they were upon the Kansas situation, the Yankees did not hesitate to aver that they were loyal Missourians, or had come directly from the bluegrass region of Kentucky. The Border Ruffians, being good philologists, however, were not long in hitting upon a satisfactory test. They stationed guards at all the Missouri River crossings, and instructed them to ask every traveller to utter the single word "cow." If anyone said "keow" he was to be turned back. The plan worked, and history records the victory of the slavery party at the Kansas elections that year.¹

Such means of determining the geographical origins of men have been employed, no doubt, ever since the Gileadites said to the Ephraimites, "say now 'shibboleth,' " and they said "sibboleth."² There are no habits more tenacious than speech-habits. Today the student of American dialects can go into any homogeneous midwestern community and with very little trouble determine from what sections of the United States the early settlers of the community came. It follows that it should be possible to determine the geographical origins of a people historically removed from our times by a considerable period through a study of dialect words used by their writers. This is the task proposed in the present study.

The task was suggested by a question as to whether Iowa was

¹ Todd, Rev. John, *The Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa*, p. 111; Caldwell, J. P., *The Rationale of Slang*, *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 4, p. 189, Feb. 1870; DeVere, Schele, *Americanisms*, p. 189. Of course there is also a southern variation of the sound [au].

² Judges xii, 6.

settled from New England or from the South. John Fiske once stated that the movements of population follow the parallels of latitude.³ If that is true, Iowa's population should have come from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and northern Pennsylvania. The impression is general that Iowa was settled from New England, via New York and Ohio. On the other hand, Professor Frank I. Herriott of Drake University, basing his conclusion upon statements of early settlers, a consideration of the nativity of pioneer leaders, and census reports of nativity, believes that "Iowa was settled first by the sons of the Old Dominion, interspersed with the vigor of New England."⁴ Here, then, is a fair issue, toward the decision of which the student of dialects may expect to contribute some evidence.

It should be remarked that there were no definite lines of settlement in Iowa. The Missourians on the southern border, the Kentuckians along the Mississippi River, and the few colonies of Yankees, Kentuckians, Germans, Dutch and Scandinavians in the interior afford the only clear-cut and direct speech influences. These factors are probably of no more than local importance. Iowa speech as a whole is of decidedly mixed ancestry; it is too confused in origin to map satisfactorily. Even when one determines where a certain family came from, one has by no means pigeon-holed its speech. It may have dipped into half a dozen sets of speech-peculiarities or dialects on its "pioneering" path to the permanent Iowa home. We have the case of the Quaker Aaron Streets in Newhall's "Sketches of Iowa," published in 1841. The elder Aaron Street "emigrated from Salem, N. J., to Salem, Ohio; from Ohio father and son came and built up Salem, Ind.;" and there the elder Street was buried; from Salem, Ind., the younger Aaron Street came to Iowa and founded Salem, Iowa.⁵ Whither the progeny of this family continued its western march, deponent saith not, but doubtless other Aaron Streets have founded more

³ Fiske, John, *Civil Government in America*, p. 81.

⁴ Herriott, Frank I., *Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa?* Annals of Iowa, 3rd series, Vol. 7, pp. 367 ff., 446 ff. The issue raised by Professor Herriott really extends to settlement subsequent to statehood, but I have chosen to deal with the first period of Iowa settlement—that from 1833 to 1846. After Iowa's admission into the union as a free state, southern immigration fell off greatly, while Northerners poured in by increasing thousands.

⁵ Newhall, J. B., "Sketches of Iowa," page 142, footnote. Monette's *Valley of Miss.*, Vol. 2, p. 562.

Salems in far-western states before this. This progressive "pioneering" was not uncommon; it was almost the rule. Of the twenty-four Woodbury County pioneers studied by Professor Garver, nine came directly to Iowa, while fifteen came by way of other states, as follows: Seven by way of Illinois, four by way of Wisconsin, and one each by way of Massachusetts, Ohio, Vermont and Montana.⁶ Readers of Hamlin Garland's *Son of the Middle Border* will recall the successive moves recorded of the "pioneering" father.

The immediate problem proposed in this study was to determine, from an examination of speech peculiarities in use in Iowa before 1846, approximately what proportion of all Iowans of that period were of Yankee origin, and what proportion came from the South. The method was, first, to form a list of usages belonging to the time and place and to the non-literary level. Obviously, this must be secured from an examination of guidebooks, newspapers, reminiscences, and the literature of travel, biography, and history. The second step, the classification of the dialectal loan-words according to their geographical origins, was much more difficult. After the publication of the proposed American dialect dictionary, it will be possible to do such work with fair completeness and accuracy, but until then inexactitude and incompleteness in the determination of dialect origins cannot be avoided.

Only two sections were considered in the investigation of speech origins—the South, including Missouri; and New England, including New York state, which was settled almost wholly from New England.⁷ My chief printed authorities on origins have been the lists of dialect words published from year to year in *Dialect Notes*. The various dialect dictionaries are of little help in such an investigation. I am indebted for the identification of Southernisms persisting to later times, to Professor George Summey, Jr., of North Carolina State College, and Professor Ludwig Lewisohn, who was reared in Charlestown, S. C. The identification of Yankeeisms was made by Mrs. Sallie Wright Farrar, formerly

⁶ Garver, Frank H., *Settlement of Woodbury County*, in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 9, pp. 359-384.

⁷ Roberts, E. H., *New York*, pp. 358-9; Dwight, Timothy, *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. 4, p. 527; Mathews, Lois, *The Expansion of New England*, pp. 153-169.

librarian of the Columbia University Branch of the New York Public Library, and Professor E. N. S. Thompson of the University of Iowa. The former has been acquainted with Vermont and New York state words from childhood, and the latter with Connecticut terms. The work of Professors Lewisohn and Thompson was largely corroboratory. If any errors have been made in this work of identification, they have been on the side of caution. I owe thanks to these scholars and many others who have helped me in this study. I am especially indebted to Professor George Philip Krapp of Columbia University for suggestions and aid.

The greater part of the pioneer Iowa dialect list remains unclassified as to sectional sources. Some of the terms originated in the new country, of course, having been called forth by the new environment, natural, social, political, and industrial. Such words are, for example, those borrowed from the Indians, as *Saukies*, *Skinnoway*, *Chemockeman* and *Puckachee*, in my first vocabulary group. Native also are the words referring to the early territorial divisions in Iowa, as *Old Strip* and *Half-Breed Tract* in Group 2. Possibly some of the popular names for prairie flora and fauna were new. Words relating to the coming of the immigrant, as *prairie schooner*, to cruise the prairie, *jerky*, etc., and many terms relating to the location and legal status of the claim, the building of the cabin, domestic arrangements within the dwelling and labor conditions without, were peculiar to the new land; but many, also, came from the east.

The criteria used in the compilation of this list have been, first, dialectal, and second, chronological. In making the dialectal tests, the term dialect has been defined liberally, according to common custom in such studies, but the attempt has been made to avoid literary usages on the one hand, and slang and mere mannerisms on the other. All sources used are definitely Iowa sources. The chronological criteria also require a word of elucidation. The attempt has been, in general, to include words belonging to the period before 1846, and to that end I have used as sources books and periodicals bearing dates previous to that year, or describing life in Iowa during the period under examination, or using words clearly derived from the speech of that period. The apparent exceptions to the above rules of classification are: words which, although they are still being used in printed history and reminis-

cence, have practically dropped out of the spoken language because the conditions to which they applied have vanished; and words which, though still used, seem peculiarly to belong to this study. For example, popular names of the flora and fauna^s of the prairie region to which the pioneer had come would seem to have a place in such a study as this, especially in view of the very intimate relation of the pioneer to the natural phenomena of the new country. Various nice questions are involved in the compilation of such a vocabulary as the one here presented, and the compiler cheerfully recognizes the propriety on the part of dialect students and all well-informed persons of differing from his judgment. Perhaps some words appearing here ought rather to be included among those which have been reserved till the publication of my much more extensive list of rural Iowa dialect terms in use since 1846.

The few words given on the authority of persons instead of that of books or periodicals have been contributed by persons having a dependable knowledge of the period under study. Most of my informants, of course, have their knowledge of the period at second-hand, but their contributions have been accepted only with great care and are believed to be reliable.

Certainly no claim for any degree of completeness can be made for the following lists. Further consultation of old newspaper files would undoubtedly yield many more terms. Additions as well as corrections will be cordially welcomed.

PARTIAL VOCABULARY OF IOWA DIALECT 1833-1846

(Note.—The sign (†) before a term indicates that it is in colloquial use today with the same meaning as in the period under study. An asterisk (*) before a term indicates that the recorder has the term on a personal rather than a printed authority. The quotations given have been taken from the context of the word, and the reference given for the term serves also for the quotation unless a special source is recorded. Authority is given in parentheses immediately following each word. Authorities and abbreviations for the same follow:

A—State Historical Society of Iowa, *Annals of the State Historical Society of Iowa*. First Series, 12 vols. 1863-1874. Various publishers.

2A—Howe, S. S., ed., *Annals of Iowa*. Second Series, 3 vols. 1882-1884. Republican Printing Co.

^s Limitations of space have caused the omission of the lists of flora and fauna and other material from this number of the *Philological Quarterly*.

- 3A—Aldrich, C., and Harlan, E. S., eds., *Annals of Iowa*. Third Series. 1893-. Historical Department of Iowa.
- BB—Brewer-Bonebright, Sarah, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*. 1921. Historical Department of Iowa.
- Bo—Garland, Hamlin, *Boy Life on the Prairie*. 1908. Macmillan.
- D—Wilson, Wm. Duane, *Description of Iowa*. 1865. Mills & Co.
- E—Todd, Rev. John, *Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa*. 1906. Historical Department of Iowa.
- F—Burrows, J. M. D., *Fifty Years in Iowa*. 1888. Glass & Co.
- Fi—Mott, D. C. *Fifty Years in Iowa*. n. d. Marengo Republican.
- G—Parker, N. Howe. *Iowa As It is in 1855*. 1855. Keen & Lee. (Same as *Iowa in 1856*. 1856.)
- GC—*Keokuk Gate City*. 1855.
- Ha—Blanchard, Rufus, *Handbook of Iowa*. 1867. Blanchard & Cram.
- Hi—Gue, B. F., *History of Iowa*. 1903. Century Historical Co.
- Ho—Iowa Board of Immigration, ed., *Iowa: Home for Immigrants*. 1870. Mills & Co.
- ICR—Iowa Capitol Reporter, Iowa City Capitol Reporter. (References give dates.)
- IHR—State Historical Society, Iowa Historical Record. 6 vols. 1885-1902.
- IS—Iowa Standard, Bloomington [Muscatine] Iowa; Iowa City Standard. (References give dates.)
- Ia—Salter, Wm., *Iowa 1673-1846*. 1905. McClurg.
- JHP—Shambaugh, B. F., ed., *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. 1903. State Historical Society.
- Jh—Somes, M. P., *Notes on the Flora of Johnson County*, in Proceedings of Iowa Academy of Sciences for 1913. Vol. xx. 1913. State of Iowa.
- Ma—Sabin, Henry and Edwin L., *The Making of Iowa*. n. d. Flanagan.
- Me—Duffield, George C., *Memories of Frontier Iowa*. 1906. Bishard Bros.
- Mfg—Hyatt, H. S., *Manufacturing and Agricultural Resources of Iowa*. 1870.
- N—Newhall, Jno. B., *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*. W. D. Skillman.
- No—Sargent, George B., *Notes on Iowa*. 1848. Berford & Co.
- OC—*Ottumwa Courier*. 1858.
- P—Parish, Jno. C., ed., *The Palimpsest*. State Historical Society of Iowa. 1920.
- Pr—Garland, Hamlin, *Prairie Songs*. 1893. Stone & Kimball.
- S—Garland, Hamlin, *A Son of the Middle Border*. 1917. Macmillan.
- Sk—Newhall, John B., *Sketches of Iowa*. 1841. J. H. Colton.
- U—Williams, Jesse, *A Description of U. S. Lands in Iowa*. 1840. J. H. Colton.
- V—Quick, Herbert, *Vandemark's Folly*. 1921. Bobbs-Merrill.
- WP—Curtiss, Danl. S., *Western Portraiture*. 1852. J. H. Colton.
- UM—Merrick, George Byron, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*. 1909. Arthur H. Clark.

We—Anon., *History of Western Iowa*. 1882. Western Publishing Co.

Paging is given immediately following the abbreviation. When volume numbers are necessary, they are given between the abbreviation and the page number, and separated from the latter by a point.)

1. WORDS RELATING TO THE INDIANS.

Buck. (Ia. 251). sb. Young Indian male.

Buffalo tent. (Ia. 129). sb. A high, pointed Indian tent. Variant: **Tepee*.

Chemockeman. (2A1.56). sb. Indian term for white man. Variants: *Che-moco-man*. (A1.53). *Pale-face*. (Sk. 13). (A literary word?) *Skinna-way*. (Me. 12).

Council house. (Ia. 142). sb. Tribal headquarters.

Kinnikinnick. (No. 34). sb. The tobacco blend of the Indians. See Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian*.

Lodge. (Ia. 166). sb. A generic name for Indian dwelling, or family.

Manito. (A1.37). sb. A supernatural spirit; variously spelled. See Hodge; also DeVere's *Americanisms*, p. 33. Variants: *Great spirit*. (Ia. 251). *Great father*. (Ia. 251). These two may be chiefly literary words. *Great medicine*. (Sk. 199). The term "medicine" is of very great inclusiveness. See reference for word.

Pukachee. (3A8.309). v. To get out; make one's self scarce. A word found repeatedly, especially in the imperative. Variant: **Vamoose*.

Saukies. (A1.12). sb. pl. The Sacs or Sauks, a tribe of Indians which together with the subsidiary tribe, the Foxes, formed the Indian nation most important to the early settlers. The form "Sauk" is preferred generally by ethnologists, but "Sac" is used by many historians, while both have been liberally used in place-names.

Soutiappo. (A1.53). sb. Liquor. Variants: *Fire-water*. (N.38). *Water-that-burns*. (N.38). *Spirit-water*. (Ia. 138).

Smoke horses. (Ia. 189). v. To initiate young bucks according to an Indian custom. Variant: *Whip up*. (Ia. 190).

Talk. (Ia. 78). sb. A conference.

Touch the goose quill. (Ia. 138). v. To sign a treaty. (Literary?)

Wickeup (Sk. 95). sb. "The lodge of the Sacs and Foxes." From Menominee "wikiop." Variant: **Wicky*. The word is also spelled with an i or y in place of the e, and sometimes an effort is made to etymologize by placing a hyphen between the syllables. *Wigwam* may come from the same root. See "Notes and Queries" 108.9:406.

2. TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

Black Hawk Purchase. (Ma. 147). sb. The Iowa lands first purchased of the Indians by the government. They extended, on the average, fifty miles west of the Mississippi River. Variants: *The strip*. (Ma. 147). *The old strip*. (Ma. 147). *The old purchase*. (N. 30).

Bounty lands. (Ia. 144). sb. Government lands given veterans of Mexican War.

Half-breed Tract. (Ia. 227). sb. A small tract in what is now Lee County, reserved by treaty to Sac and Fox half-breeds. It caused much dispute.

Indemnity Lands. (3A1.630). sb. Small tracts on the Des Moines River. See ref.

Keokuk's Reserve. (Hi. 87). sb. A small tract on the Iowa River below Muscatine, reserved to Chief Keokuk at the end of the Black Hawk War.

Missouri Slope. (D. 74). sb. The western counties of Iowa, drained by the Missouri River. Variants: *The Slope.* (2A2.70). *The Back Counties.* (2A1.54). The latter is recorded by Thornton as common in Massachusetts for her western counties as early as 1783, and in Virginia in 1803.

New Purchase. (Ma. 147). sb. The remainder of the lands purchased in 1837 from the Indians by the government in Iowa after the Black Hawk Purchase. Variant: *New Lands.* (Ma. 217).

3. WORDS DESCRIBING THE PRAIRIE LANDS.

(Note.—Few writers have described the prairie without some measure of enthusiasm. From the explorer to the latest letter-writing "new-comer," all give evidence of a certain stirring of the imagination, a certain awe. Bryant spoke of it in his poem, *The Prairies*:

And my heart swells, while the dilated sight
Takes in the encircling vastness.

James Fenimore Cooper has a fine description of the prairie in his *Oak Openings*; it is one of many. They all use the same comparison to the ocean with its billows, and have the same admiration for the prairie flowers. The latter is particularly evident in Bishop Quayle's prose poem, *The Prairie*. One notes these feelings in the reminiscences, spoken and written, of the pioneers. See Quick's *Vandemark's Folly*, p. 111. The very pronunciation of the word prairie, lingering caressingly upon the word, may be fancied to convey some onomatopoeic recollection of the rolling "puh-rah-rah." Relative to this pronunciation see DeVere, p. 100.

The term prairie, preceded by the indefinite article, was early used to signify a limited stretch of prairie land, as in the words of Father Marquette: "Finally, on the 25th of June, we perceived . . . a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie." (P3.29). The term came to be used in both singular and plural in a more generic sense. Compare the titles of Bryant's poem and Quayle's essay, *supra*.

It should be noted that the features of the prairie landscape were of peculiar importance to the settlers as landmarks. A complicated set of directions was usually necessary in order to enable one to reach a given place through the pathless prairie or barrens. I submit the following in evidence: "Look peart now: Go up the creek bed from the big rock to the white clay bluff, up the ridge, around the hollow to the right and between the dead ellum pole in the opening north and the hanging jackoak limb I broke west of it. The deer is in the May-apples." (Me.21). Dwellers on open prairie had even less to go by. A brief list follows:)

Barren. (Hi. 10). sb. "Hilly land near rivers."

†*Bottom.* (WP. 315). sb. "The name given to a tract of land between the channel of a river and high ground." Such a tract is called by the name of the stream, as †*Mississippi Bottom.* (Sk. 75). Note also *Second bottom.* (A6. 21). Somewhat higher ground.

Bluffs. (A1.31). sb. pl. "By the bluffs of the Mississippi we do not mean a perpendicular ascent but a gentle rise from the river or bottom lands."

Buffalo beat. (3A8.520). sb. "There are found open, cleared spaces on the summits of the hills called buffalo-beats because supposed to be occasioned by the resort of those animals thither in fly-time."—Harris' *Ohio*, p. 179.

Deadening. (Me.17). sb. A burnt-over strip to protect buildings and stacks from prairie fires.

Dug-out. (Fi.17). sb. A deep hole containing water, found in the middle prairie sloughs. Variant: *Sink-hole.* (Bo.68).

†*Lay high.* (D.71). v. To possess elevation; of land.

†*Niggerhead.* (Me.38). sb. A large granite stone. This word has half a score of meanings in as many different states. It is used for roots, nuts, flowers of various kinds, candy, cloth and clouds. See the various lists in Dialect Notes.

Oak opening. (G.147). sb. A treeless prairie or tract in a wooded section.

Point of timber. (BB.3). sb. A wood or group of trees. "A point of timber was a guidepost for miles."

Tow head. (Bo.97). sb. A clump of trees or bushes or both.

4. THE COMING OF THE IMMIGRANT.

Boot. (F.89). sb. The baggage-carrying compartment of a vehicle.

Cruise the prairie. (S.447). v. To cross the prairie in wagons.

Fleet of prairie schooners. (Bo.1). sb. A number of covered wagons traveling together. Variant: *Wagon train.* (IHR6.108).

Freighter. (Bo.1). sb. A helper in an emigrant train. "The wagon was driven by a hired freighter."

Jerky. (Ma.222). sb. A stage without large springs.

Mud Stage. (F.89). sb. A stage without a covered boot, so that baggage was mud-covered.

Pioneer. (Pr.138). v. To emigrate to a frontier. "I'll be pioneerin' farther west."

Prairie schooner. (Bo.1). sb. A large wagon, covered with canvas mounted on a frame of upright bows; used by the early emigrants to the Middle West previous to the coming of the railroads; drawn by four horses or oxen. Variants: †*Covered wagon.* (Bo.1). Often used of smaller camp wagons. **Conestoga wagon.* From Conestoga Creek, Lancaster County, Pa., where this type of wagon was first commonly used. Whether the terms *Pennsylvania wagon* and *Quaker wagon*, used farther east, were used also in Iowa, I have no evidence.

Stage. (3A1.338). v. To drive stage. "He staged awhile."

5. THE CLAIM.

Blanket title. (A8.614). sb. "—usually cost a blanket paid to some drunken Indian."

Claim. (Sk.55). sb. Land selected for entry. Variant: *Homestead.* (Ho.58).

Claim club. (A1.340). sb. An organization of squatters to protect claim rights.

Claim maker. (A1.41). sb. "A class of men who, no sooner than they had sold one claim to a newcomer, would proceed to make another."

Claim regulators. (A1.945). sb. The enforcers of "club" law, q. v.

Claim speculator. (A1.46). sb. A dealer in pre-empted lands, to curb whose activities the claim clubs were mainly organized.

Club law. (Ma.158). sb. The regulations adopted by the claim clubs to enforce squatters' rights. Variants: *Claim law.* (Ma.158). *Pro-tem law.* (Sk.54). *By-laws.* (Sk.54).

'*Cordin*' to wood and water. (Me.9). phr. With regard to the location of timber and streams. "They made their claims 'cordin' to wood and water."

Diggings. (A1.236). sb.pl. The vicinity or neighborhood. In defining this word, the limitation to rooms or lodgings is often made by dictionaries and dialect glossaries; but it is my observation that the word means rather more. Note for example one of the quotations in Thornton: "He strode a right smart chance of a critter that couldn't be beat in them diggin's." —*Knickerbocker Magazine* 34:113. Note: "He had to leave these diggings." —A1.236. "Send a cargo [of girls] to these diggings." —IS., 18 Dec. 1840. The treatment of the word in DeVere and Bartlett is satisfactory. It came from mining localities; not, as Thoreau thought, from the digging of the tiller of the soil. (Sanborn's *Thoreau*, p. 275, 1916 Ed.)

Enter land. (G.207). v. To file application formally for land.

Full claim. (Sk.54). sb. "—is half a section."

Hunt country. (V.105). v. To look for a place to settle.

†*Improvements.* (G.205). sb.pl. Additions to the value of a claim in fulfillment of government claim laws, as breaking, fencing, and erecting buildings.

Land locater. (V.213). sb. A man who made it a business to find the location of a given piece of land by finding the government corner stakes.

Land shark. (A8.517). sb. A man who lent money at usury to settlers to buy land.

Locate a claim. (WP. xi). v. To select land for settling upon.

Make a claim. (Sk.54). v. To secure land from the government. Variant: *Homestead.* (Ho.58).

Newcomer. (Sk.34). sb. The proper term for an immigrant settler.

†*Pace off.* (Ma.153). v. To measure off by strides; customary in locating a claim.

Pre-emption rights. (Sk.45). sb. The rights to his claim possessed by a squatter who had settled there before it was possible to procure a legal title thereto. Variants: *Claim rights.* (Sk.55). *Squatters' rights.* (A1.262). *Settlers' rights.* (A8.126).

Private entry. (Sk.45). sb. The act of entering upon land personally.

Second-hand lands. (G.122). sb.pl. Lands that had changed hands.

**Squat.* v. To take possession of land without securing legal title.

Squat. (A8.333). sb. The act of squatting. "He claimed under an old squat."

Squatter. (Sk.133). sb. One who squats.

Squatter's title. (3A4.187). sb. "A form of quit-claim deed."

Stake out. (Ma.153). v. To plant stakes showing the boundaries of a claim. "The claim was paced off and staked out."

Take up. (3A13.32). v. To secure private ownership of land.

Township claim committee. (3A2.577). sb. The executive committee of a claim club.

6. THE CABIN.

Cat-and-clay chimney. (Ma.153). sb. "A flue of split sticks and clay."

Variant: *Cat-in-clay chimney.* (A7.256). *Cat-* probably refers to the laying of the sticks at right angles (French *quatre*): Cp. "wattle-and-daub" and "stick-and-dirt" reported in *Dialect Notes* from southeast Missouri, and in Thornton from Kentucky and Tennessee.

Chink. (Ma.153). v. To fill in the interstices of a log wall with small sticks, etc.

Chinkin'. (A1.60). sb. The material used in the process of chinking.

Claim cabin. (A7.255). sb. The settler's dwelling house. Usually "about fourteen feet square."

Cleat hinge. (3A4.184). sb. A hinge made by placing thick cleats on door and jamb and connecting them by a vertical bolt.

Daub. (A1.60). v. To smear with mud instead of plaster made from lime. "His cabin was neither chinked nor daubed."

**Daubin'.* sb. The mud plastering on the walls or between the logs of a cabin.

Double-log house. (IHB1.219). sb. A log-cabin of twice the usual width. "We had a double-log, two-story house."

Dug-out. (3A2.595). sb. A dwelling dug in the side of a hill, faced with logs or sods and roofed with boards or thatch.

Eave-pole. (2A1.60). A log laid along the eaves of a log-cabin. "The clapboards butted against the eave-pole and were fastened with weight-poles."

Hewed-log cabin. (A1.243). sb. A log-cabin built of squared logs.

Log-cabin. (Ma.153). sb. A dwelling house built of logs; the usual claim cabin. Variant: *†*Log-house.* See 3A4.184 for good description.

Pole ladder. (A8.368). sb. A ladder made of sticks and used in lieu of stairs. "We climbed the pole ladder and slept in the loft."

Puncheon. (A7.255). sb. A broad piece of timber riven from a log, roughly dressed and usually used as flooring by setting the rounded side into the ground and leaving the flat side up.

Roof-knee. (BB.30). sb. A notched log laid on the roof of a log house to hold the weight poles in position.

Shake. (IHR4.537). sb. A hand-split shingle long enough to reach from the ridgepole to the eaves. Variant: †*Clapboard.* (3A4.184). Pronounced without sounding the p.

Shantee. (Wp.xi). sb. A rough board cabin. From Irish *sean-*, old; -*tig*, house. Present form is *shanty*.

Sod-house. (Hi.389). sb. A dwelling house built of sods, with board or thatch roof.

Sod-stable. (Hi.389). sb. A horse-barn of sods.

Splint. (3A4.184). sb. A thin piece split from a log. "They used splints for the door."

*†*Thatch roof.* sb. Roofing made from slough grass bound to pole rafters with grass bands.

Three-faced camp. (Ma.153). sb. A dwelling which "consisted of three walls seven feet high on three sides." Variants: *Half-faced shed.* (A7.255). *Cat-faced shed.* (A7.255).

Weight pole. (3A4.184). sb. A log laid across the shakes of a log-cabin to hold them in place.

7. DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS.

Back-log. (A7.256). sb. A large log "placed against the wall in the fireplace to protect it from the effects of fire," and to hold fire. Variant: *Back-stick.* (Me.51). Note use in Whittier's *Snow Bound*.

Bake pan. (IHR6.109). sb. A small tin oven. "A substitute for a tin oven."

Bowie knife. (A3.122). sb. A long general-utility knife, named after Colonel Bowie of Texas, and usually used for a hunting knife. The ref. relates an anecdote in which Judge Grant indignantly denies that he ever carried a Bowie knife three feet long, claiming it was "only two feet long!"

Bread trough. (A10.393). sb. A receptacle in which to knead bread.

Button light. (BB.30). sb. A lamp made by attaching a wick to a button placed in a dish of grease.

Clock depot. (2A1.57). sb. A clock store. "He sold Yankee clocks and had a clock depot in town."

Duffle. (3A8.309). sb. A general name for household goods, especially in transport. Variants: *Plunder.* (3A2.609). "I had more plunder than I could haul." *Traps.* (3A2.609).

Fetta bag. (BB.231). sb. Small bag of asafetida tied around the neck to ward off sickness. Variants: *Fetta tit.* (BB.231). **Fetty bag.*

†*Flour barrel.* (Me.36). sb. The household storage place for flour.

Forestick. (Me.23). sb. The log that lies at the front of an open fire.

Lighter. (Fi.21). sb. "The mothers kept rolled paper lighters in a horn-shaped holder by the stove so the candle or lamp could be lighted without wasting a match."

Meal chest. (Me.36). sb. The household storage place for corn-meal.

Randle. (BB.30). sb. A bar at the top and back of fireplace on which hooks were hung. Variant: *Back bar.* (BB.30).

Reddin-comb. (BB.47). sb. "Children were combed . . . first with the reddin comb and then with the fine-tooth."

Sperm candle. (IS., 27 Mch. 1843). sb. Spermaceti or whale-oil candles.

Steelyards. (A1.177). sb.pl. Scales hung on a metal arm. Pronounced with the ee like i in ill and the a similar to a in about; accent on first syllable. The etymology of the word is curiously mixed; see New English Dictionary, but also Palmer: *The Folk and Their Word-Lore*.

Trammel. (BB.30). sb. A hook for hanging kettles in the fireplace.

Yankee clock. (2A1.57). sb. The common name for a house-clock, introduced by Yankee peddlers.

8. BEDS

Cord bed. (BB.35). sb. A bed the mattress of which was supported by cords passed beneath it. Bed cords are advertised in ICR, 10 Dec., 1842.

**Coverlid.* sb. A coverlet, or bedspread. See Tarbell's *Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 148. A popular etymology from *coverlet*, which in turn is said to be a popular etymology of a ME. form of Old French *covrelit*, cover-bed. See Palmer, p. 66. In his defense of Yankeeisms, Lowell claims *coverlid* is nearer the French original than the British *coverlet*. See introduction to Second Series of the *Biglow Papers*.

One-legged bed. (Ma.154). sb. The typical bedstead of the log-cabin, set in a corner and supported by two walls and a post driven into the ground. "Very often two beds had but one leg, if the width of the cabin was 12 feet."—BB.35. Variants: *Prairie bedstead.* (A7.257). *Prairie rascal.* (A7.257).

Pole bedstead. (A8.406). sb. A bedstead made of poles.

Prairie feathers. (A8.695). sb.pl. Facetious term for prairie hay used to stuff mattresses.

†*Soap-stone.* (A10.393). sb. A smooth, flat stone used for warming the feet in bed. Variant: *†*Foot-stone.*

Spoon up. (Me.54). v. To lie very close together in bed, one behind the other, knees crooked, in order to conserve the animal heat. "They spooned up three in a bed." Variants: †* *Lie spoon-fashion.* †**Make a fashion spoon.*

†*Trundle bed.* (3A.567). sb. A small bed, slipped under a larger bed in the daytime.

9. CLOTHES (See also WEAVING group).

Buffalo cloth. (ICR., Jan. 1842). sb. Rough fabric resembling buffalo fur.

Jaconett. (ICR., 11 Nov. 1840). sb. A cloth made of cotton warp and fine wool or silk woof.

Slat sunbonnet. (BB.121). sb. A sunbonnet the scoop of which is stiffened by means of thin removable wooden strips.

Cassinet. (IS., 27 Nov. 1840). sb. A cloth made of cotton warp and fine wool or silk woof.

Repellent. (ICR., Jan. 1842). sb. A waterproof cloth.

Beaver. (IS., 7 Jan. 1858). sb. A high hat, made of beaver-fur. "Just doffing our beaver."

Beaver cloth. (ICR., Jan. 1842). sb. Heavy milled woolen cloth for outer garments. Another variety is *Beavertine*.

Dicky. (Me.25). sb. A sham shirt-bosom. "A dicky that hid the flannel shirt-front." Variant: *Bosom*. (ICR., 10 Dec. 1842).

Pilot cloth. (ICR., 1 Jan. 1842). sb. Coarse, stout woolen cloth, generally blue.

Stock. (Me.25). sb. The neckcloth that held up the collar. "My father's stocks were made of black silk, a square yard cut diagonally making two. Hemmed neatly all around, they were then folded, starting with the corner, turned in, and worn by placing the middle against the neck in front, carrying the ends around to the back, crossing them, and bringing them back to the front, where they were tied in a loose knot."—Mrs. Celia A. M. Currier. "Satin and bombazine stocks" are advertised by Wesley Jones & Co. in ICR., Jan. 1842.

Wescot. (Me.25). sb. A vest or waistcoat. "The fawnskin wescot or vest."

Top. (Ma.199). sb. A roach of the hair. "Gov. Lucas' hair was combed back without a part to form a top."

Hard Times. (ICR., 11 Dec. 1841). sb. A coarse cloth. Compare *Easy Times*. (ICR., 11 Nov. 1841), also a cloth.

10. FOOD.

Corn dodger. (Ma.155). sb. A cake of bread made from Indian corn-meal, mixed with milk or water, and baked. Variants: *Dodger*. (Ma.155). *†*Corn-bread*. *Corn-pone*. (Ma.155). *Pone*. (Ma.155). *Journey cake*. (A8.345). *Johnny-cake*. (A8.345). *Hoe-cake*. (Ma.155). *Dodger*, *pone* and *hoe-cake* are Southernisms, while *journey-cake* was the original New England word (from its convenience as a ration on a journey) and from it *Johnny-cake* developed by popular etymology. *Pone* is from an Indian word. *Hoe-cake* was named from the method of its baking on a hoe, which was later varied to baking on a board or shingle. The common Iowa word is now *corn-bread*, which is "doctored up" with buttermilk, etc. *Corn* was very prominent in the pioneer diet, largely taking the place of wheat. "Perhaps the most serious annoyance causing sickness among the people was the lack of good, wholesome bread."—A8.407.

†*Flapjack*. (A8.407). sb. A griddle cake, named from the camp custom of tossing it in the air when one side is done and catching it in the griddle with the baked side up. Somewhat facetious, now, at least. Variant: *†*Panecake*. The common word now.

Grit. (Me.37). v. To grate something, as corn. "Some gritted the corn, and some jointed it."

**Grit corn.* sb. Grated corn.

Hog and hominy. (A1.311). phr. A phrase indicating a low plane of

living. "He made his living from hog and hominy." Variant: *†*Sow-belly and sauer kraut*.

Hog-meat. (Ma.155). sb. Southernism for pork.

†*Hominy*. (Ma.155). sb. Corn soaked in lye-water to remove hulls; prepared by boiling. The Standard Dictionary makes the mistake of including grinding or cracking in its definition; now as then it is hominy before it is ground. Perhaps Col. Henry Norwood made a similar error in his *A Voyage to Virginia* (1650): "—hominy, which is the corn of that country beat and boiled to mash."—Trent and Wells, *Colonial Prose and Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 29. Variants: *Lye hominy*. (Ma.155). *Hulled corn*. (JHP8.358). The lye process may or may not have been used in the latter for the removal of the hulls. See DeVere, p. 42.

Hominy block. (A6.324). sb. An instrument for hulling corn. "Who of the old settlers does not remember Lingle's mill, one among the first to take the place of coffee mills, hominy blocks and other 'corn crackers'!"

†*Indian meal*. (Ma.155). sb. Ground Indian corn.

Johnny-cake board. (A6.324). sb. Board on which Johnny-cakes or hoe-cakes were baked.

Joint. (Me.37). v. To use a jointer, or plane, as in shredding corn. Pronounced so it will rhyme with pint.

Jointed meal. (Me.37). sb. Corn-meal made by jointing corn.

Mush. (Me.37). sb. Hasty pudding. If Joel Barlow were alive today, he would have to blush not only for the Pennsylvanians but for the whole West, for the more convenient and expressive name "mush" has ousted the name "hasty pudding," the significance of which the poet so lovingly dwells on. "J'inted meal made the best of mush." Variant: *†*Corn-meal mush*.

Mustard greens. (3A1.567). sb. Boiled mustard weeds.

*†*Roasting ears*. sb. Indian corn at a stage of growth suitable for food when boiled. Latterly applied to sweetcorn, and to Indian corn only in telling how mature the corn is; as, "My corn has got to the roasting-ear stage."

Rye coffee. (3A1.567). sb. A substitute for coffee made from rye, just as "Yarb tea" was made from mints and so distinguished from "store tea." See also IS.,30 Mch. 1843, which speaks of rye coffee in derogation.

Samp. (A7.259). sb. "Made by cracking corn in a tanbark mill and boiling like rice." From Indian word.

*†*Sow-belly*. sb. Pork side-meat.

Wooly-cake. (Me.37). sb. "Baked, jointed meal made our old wooly-cake, or pone, whose surface bristled with the shredded hulls and bits of cob—sweet, if scratchy." Variant: **Grit-bread*.

11. SOME LABOR TERMS.

Back-fire. (Hi.391). v. To build a fire to combat a prairie fire. A fire was built around house, stable and stacks, and controlled by means of one or two plowed furrows. Since it was a small fire it would burn back

against the wind until it met the big fire, which, even though it leaped forty feet high, would go out in a flash when it came to the deadened zone.

Brush-heaping. (Me.20). sb. Piling brush from cleared land for burning.

Jerk. (Me.23). sb. Meat cured by heat, usually over a fireplace. "At the end of the process the venison was jerk, and no jerk was bad." A product of folk-etymology from Peruvian *charqui*, dried meat.—Palmer.

Jerk stick. (Me.37). sb. A stick placed over the fireplace for curing meat. "Hung it on a jerk stick over the fire."

Join teams. (WP.292). v. To hitch two pairs of horses in a four-horse team; a neighborly custom. "They would join teams to break up prairie."

Lean-handed. (ICR.27 May 1843). adj. Lacking sufficient help. "If a man be lean-handed, he can in this way cultivate his farm principally himself." Variant: **Short-handed*.

Log-heaping. (Me.20). sb. Piling logs from cleared land. This and the foregoing were often co-operative tasks done at "bees." From its co-operative nature, this locution has given rise to the political cant term given here as a variant. Variant: **Log-rolling*.

Nigger-off. (V.96). v. To put one log across another at right angles and burn them in two at the cross, after which the four parts could be rolled together and burned more easily. "Men have cut the trees, niggered off the logs, grubbed out the stumps."

Open a farm. (F.32). v. To improve raw land. "He had been working hard to open a farm."

Ox-tromping. (BB.55). sb. Threshing grain by systematic trampling of oxen.

Pestle corn. (Ma.156). v. To grind it in a mortar with a pestle, or blunt grinding instrument.

Sugar-bush. (BB.61). sb. An orchard of sap-yielding maple trees.

Sugar off. (BB.61). v. To boil down the maple sap.

Talk Spanish. (P.208). v. A euphemism for swearing. This is not strictly a labor term, but it is intimately connected with the business of driving oxen.

Whipsawing. (Me.32). sb. The process of "sawing logs for a cabin with one man above and one man in a pit beneath." The element of contest in this process probably gives rise to the cant terms used variously in politics and sport, but based on the idea of getting the better of an opponent. Variant: **Pit-sawing*.

12. IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS.

A-harrow. (Fi.11). sb. A harrow named from its shape.

Bow. (A1.42). sb. Part of yoke used in harnessing oxen.

Break plow. (Fi.10) sb. A specially-made plow for breaking the tough prairie sod. "Three yoke of oxen would be hitched to a big twenty-inch break-plow." Variants: *Breaking plow.* (3A5.451). *Prairie plow.* (Ma.155).

Breaking-plow brigade. (3A5.451). sb. A group of men operating breaking-plows.

Froe. (3A4.183). sb. A cleaving tool with blade at right angles to the handle. With the handle pointing up the sharp edge of the blade was the lower one; the upper edge was broad so it could be pounded with a mallet. "With the froe they split clapboards for the roof and large splints for the door." Variant (in spelling only): *Frow.* (A1.346).

**Grain cradle.* sb. An implement for mowing and gathering grain by hand. Variant. **Cradle.*

Jointer. (Me.31). sb. A plane. "Father brought with him an axe, a frow, an auger, a plane, known as a j'inter, and a broad-axe. Nearly every settler brought the same."

Jumper. (Sk.27). sb. A sled in which shaft and runners are continuous. "Young lovers rig out a jumper and hie away."

†*Lay.* (3A5.451). sb. The blade of a plow. Variants: *Share.* (Bo.10). *Shear.* (3A5.451). *Shire.* (Hi.389).

Lizard. (A1.297). sb. "A log-sled, denominated by the squatters, a lizard." Made in the form of a V with four or five cross-pieces. Variant: *Log-sled.* (A1.297).

Log-chain. (3A4.183). sb. A heavy chain used in handling logs. "The average immigrant family brought a plow, log-chain, shovel, axe, froe, and an inch auger."

**Mole ditcher.* sb. An implement which tunnelled a horizontal hole about three inches in diameter and thirty inches below the surface of swampy land. It was drawn by a rope wound about a capstan, operated by horse-power.

Over-jets. (Me.2). sb. An extension over the wheels of a wagon. (Popular etymology from *over-jut*?) "This wagon [a prairie schooner] had a bed with over-jets above the wheels."

Plunge one-hand corn planter. (Fi.11). sb. An early type of hand corn-planter.

**Prairie renovator.* sb. A harrow with strong teeth to separate tangled vegetation and loosen roots.

Spade hand corn-planter. (Fi.11). sb. An early type of hand corn-planter.

Rope-walk. (3A6.452). sb. A long shed or alley for making rope.

Scraping horse. (BB.86). sb. A rack for scraping hides. It consisted of "a piece of puncheon. . . one end raised about three feet high by legs while the other end rested on the ground." Illustrated in BB.

13. WEAVING TERMS.

Break flax. (3A6.451). v. To render flax pliable.

Bout. (BB.193). sb. "A group of warp threads."

Card. (3A4.221). v. To comb wool, cotton or flax with a wire-toothed instrument called a card.

Flax-break. (3A6.451). sb. An instrument for breaking flax.

Hackle. (3A6.451). sb. A contrivance for combing flax.

Jeans. (3A6.451). sb. A coarse cotton cloth.

Linsey-woolsey. (3A4.527). sb. A cloth containing a mixture of flax and wool. Variants: *Linsey.* (3A6.451). *Lindsey.* (ICR., 1 Jan. 1842).

Pick wool. (3A4.221). v. "The wool was washed and picked to clean out the burs."

Reed or stay, heddle, shuttle, hank, winding-blade, warping-bar, batten, breast beam, quill. (3A5.452). Parts of a loom.

Shives. (3A6.451). sb. Scaly parts of flax. "The flax was drawn through the hackle to take out the shives and tow."

Swingle. (3A6.451). v. To beat flax in order to clean it of coarser parts.

Swingling knife. (3A6.451). sb. An instrument for beating flax. Variant: **Swingle.*

Swingling board. (3A6.451). sb. A board on the top of which flax was cleaned. "Flax was broken on a flax-brake and swingled with a wooden swingling-knife, the flax being held over the top of a swingling-board."

Tow. (3A5.452). sb. 1. Coarser fibers of flax. 2. Cloth woven from such fibers, having compounds tow-shirt, tow-pants, etc.

14. HUNTING HONEY.

Bee hunters. (2A1.116). sb. Persons who hunt for the honey of wild bees. "Early settlers make it a prominent pursuit after frost to hunt bee trees for honey and wax, both of which find ready market."—Sk.33.

Bee tree. (Sk.33). sb. A tree in which bees have located a hive. Variant: *Bee gum.* (3A4.336). So called from the fact that the hives were usually found in hollow gum trees.

**Patent gum.* sb. A manufactured hive; name derived from above.

Take the course. (2A1.116). v.phr. To locate a bee tree by observing the direction of the bee's flight. Variant: **Line bees.* A good description of the process in DeVere, *Americanisms*, pp. 204-5.

15. TRAPPING.

†*Coon.* (3A9.301). v. To proceed in the manner of a raccoon. "To coon up a tree or across a log." Variant: *†*Coon it*; as, to coon it across a log.

†*Dead-fall.* (3A9.301). sb. A trap made of sticks supporting a weight intended to fall upon the victim.

Fire corral. (BB.101). sb. A means of rounding up game employed by the Indians. It was a circular prairie fire burning toward the center.

Medicine. (3A9.301). sb. A mixture of aniseed oil, asafoetida and musk with fish-oil, put on bait.

Medicine sack. (3A9.301). sb. A cloth bag soaked in "medicine."

Trail. (3A9.301). sb. "A trail was formed by dragging the medicine sack along the ground."

Varmint. (BB.60). sb. A term of derogation usually applied to wild animals, but of wide derivative application.

(Wont. (BB.60). v. To attract varmints to a trap, as by making a trail of blood or medicine.

ALLOCATION AS TO SOURCES.

The following lists are of course not mutually exclusive.

I. YANKEE TERMS.

On authority of the lists in *Dialect Notes* and dialect dictionaries.—Back counties, beggar-ticks,⁹ beggar-lice, beaver, bee, copperhead, covered wagon, clapboard, duffle, fence-viewer,¹⁰ froe, gopher, grub, hardpan, Indian meal, jumper, neat-cattle, sensitive plant, shin-plaster, shooting-match, whipsawing.

Additional list on authority of Mrs. Farrar (esp. Vt. and York state) and Prof. E. N. S. Thompson (Conn.)—Bluff, bob-o-linkum, bob-white, bugjuice, cash article, card (v.), cattail, crowfoot, dugout, foot-racing, flapjack, foot-stone, garter-snake, geography-match, hog killin time, honey locust, improvements, johnny-cake, lady-slipper, linsey, line-fence, mandrake, muskellunge, newcomer, nip, patch, pone, rattlesnake weed, swell, shindig, sinkhole, snake-wood, snapweed, squatter, soapstone, steer, samp, shot in the neck, trundle bed, touch-me-not, wildcat whiskey.

Total, 62.

II. SOUTHERNISMS.

On authority of the lists in *Dialect Notes* and dialect dictionaries.—Bugjuice, bottom-oak, bit, bull-head, break (v), Bowie knife, bee-tree, bee-gum, bee-hunter, back counties, bottom, bottom-oak, black-oak, barrens, bluff, black-oak, bob-o-linkum, blue-cat, chink (v.), chinkin, clapboard, cat-in-clay, covered wagon, copperhead, corn-pone, corn-dodger, corn-cracker, coon (v.), cat, catfish, channel cat, cleat hinge, deaden, deadening, diggings, double-log house, dugout, daubin, doggery, deadfall, fat-wood, froe, gopher, grit (v.), grit corn (sb.), grit bread, grub (v.), getherin, gally-nippers, hardpan, hominy, homestead, hoe-cake, hand-patch, hog-killin time, hewed-log cabin, jack-oak, johnny-jump-up, linsey, linsey-woolsey, lock-fence, light-wood, lay high,

⁹ This and other words referring to flora and fauna, etc., have been omitted above. See note 8 *supra*.

¹⁰ Whereas the rail-fence terms came from the South, "fence-viewer" is from New England. The Yankees used stone fences, for which there was no material in Iowa, but they furnished Iowa's form of government.

lye hominy, log-rolling, lock-fence, lizard, May-apples, mud-clerk, mudcat, nip, pig-nut, pudding stones, puncheon, plunder, patch, picayune, plank-road, pone, pestle (v.), quilting party, red-oak, roasting ears, rail-fence, reddin-comb, rail-cut, rag-party, regular, suck, scrub-oak, sensitive plant, sow-belly, samp, steer, slough (v.), stake-and-rider fence, shot in the neck, second bottom, shovel-nose sturgeon, shindig, shake (sb.), splint, tow-head, thatch roof, varmint, white-oak, worm fence, worm stick, wildcat whiskey, yellow cat.

Additional list on authority of Professor Summey (esp. Tenn. and Carolinas) and Professor Lewisohn (S. C.).—Beggar-lice, blackjack-oak, bob-white, buffalo, backlog, crowfoot, cattails, drawing-knife, foot-stone, garter-snake, ground squirrel, honey locust, hog-meat, hog and hominy, johnny-cake, jeans, lady-slipper, log-cabin, mock-orange hedge, mustard greens, redhorse, soap-stone, steelyards, spelling match, trundle bed.

Total, 136.

The traced terms of my word-list, therefore, show 62 from New England and 136 from the South, a proportion of more than two to one in favor of the latter. The proportion shown in the nativity figures of the 1860 census is two to one in favor of the South, while nativity figures in the 1850 census indicate even a considerably greater preponderance of Southern influence in Iowa at that time. Thus the evidence of dialect, so far as traced, lends strength to the contention that Iowa's early settlers came very largely from the South and from districts such as southern Illinois and Indiana, which were settled by people from the South.

CHAUCER'S "SHAPEN WAS MY SHERTE"

By LAURA A. HIBBARD
Wellesley College

In three passages Chaucer makes curious allusion to the shaping of a shirt or of a cloth as synonymous with the beginning of life. In the *Knight's Tale* (1566) Arcite complains, "Shapen was my deeth erst than my sherte;" in the legend of *Hypermnestra* (68) old Egiste engagingly remarks:

Sin first that day that shapen was my sherte
Or by the fatal sustren had my dom,
So ny myn herte never thing me com
As thou, myn Ypermistra, doghter dere.

In *Troilus* (III, 733) the hero begs:

O fatal sustren which er any clooth
Me shapen was, my destene me sponne,
So helpeth to this werk that is bi-gonne.

Similar expressions, as noted by the *New English Dictionary*, may also be found in the poetry of Lydgate and Wyatt. In Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight* occur the lines (489 ff.):

Or I was born my desteny was sponne
By Parcas sustren
For they my deth shopen or my sherte.

In the poem beginning "Alas the greiff," Wyatt laments "the careful chance shapen afore my sherte."

Chaucer's use of the phrase seems to be the earliest on record. Its apt alliterative brevity has the savor of colloquial speech about it; and poetically, of course, the convenience of "sherte" as a rime word is more than apparent.¹ But these observations do nothing to explain the phrase itself. Editorial comment on it has been content to cite Tyrwhitt's remark that "the shirt here refers to the linen shirt in which a new-born babe is wrapped." Doubtless linen baby shirts have been fashioned since time immemorial, but surely it is fair to ask why homespun should be connected with the Fates, or why a plaintive young man like

¹ The rime is used not only in the passages cited from the legend of *Hypermnestra* and the *Knight's Tale*, but also in the Prologue to the Legend (B405), in Sir Thopas (2049), and in the Nun's Priest's Tale (4310).

Arcite or an ancient like Egiste should refer thus portentously to the actual garments of babyhood. Either Chaucer was indulging in a naively incongruous association of ideas, or else the “sherte” meant something not woven by human hands. This was Lydgate’s understanding of the word, and he states definitely that “Parcas sustren” made both “sherte” and “deth;” in other words, to him and presumably to Chaucer also, the “sherte” was, so to speak, a transcendental garment, symbolic of human life and destiny.

This mediaeval weaving of the classic single thread of life into a whole garment is not in itself surprising. Restraint was not a virtue of mediaeval imagination even in the hands of master poets. A later and more sophisticated poet than Chaucer, Ariosto, prince of court poets that he was, stretched invention further. In the *Orlando Furioso* (XXXIV, 88 ff.) the poet tells of the visit of Astolpho to the moon. St. John guides him to a palace in which he finds every room

Piena di velli
Di lin, di seta, di coton, di lana,
Tinti in vari colori e vrutti e belli.

Each of these cloths is symbolic of some one’s mortal fate, and they are woven, sorted, and removed by ancient women of whom the saint says:

Le vecchi son le Parche, che con tali
Stami filano vite a voi mortali.

But though it be recognized that Chaucer’s “sherte” belongs with Ariosto’s bolts of cloth as a “heavenish” and not a mortal thing, it may still be asked why it was a shirt that was “shapen,” instead of something else. The proverbial tone no less than the prosaic nature of the object point to the influence of popular fancy, if not to actual popular origin. Once one begins to inquire, it appears that the shirts of folklore might fill a mighty wardrobe full of marvelous things, shirts such as the Elfin Knight² re-

² Child, *Ballads*, I, 7. Cf. Vol. V, p. 284 for comment on shirts as betrothal tokens and on the significance of a lover’s request for a shirt. Lean, *Collectanea*, Bristol, 1903, Vol. II, p. 580, notes that the marriage shirt presented by a Scotch bride to her groom, was finely made and was commonly kept to be his dead shirt. In folk tales, as in the Elfin Knight ballad, the making of a shirt is often one form of the impossible task. Cf. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. III, p. 200, for *Gesta Romanorum* tales about shirts made of linen three inches square.

quired, made without any seam or needle work, without needle, knife or thread; beautiful shirts of silk and holland fine which lovers use for true love tokens;³ magic shirts having the talismanic property of changing color with the fate or feelings of the lovers,⁴ shirts that are chastity tests, shirts of enchantment,⁵ and many others. In a good number of these folk tales the shirts are life tokens which indicate how life goes with the person to whom they originally belonged. A more occult type, because the shirts are not made by or for mortals, may be found in the shirts or shrouds which "in the folklore of many countries, are supposed to be washed in the moonlight by spirit women."⁶ In the Celtic legends of the Washer of the Ford, the Weird Woman washes the supernatural garments and gear of those doomed to a violent death. In English folklore the same superstition has left its haunting impress. In the ballad of *Clerk Colvill* (Child, No. 42) the doomed hero meets a mermaid:

"Ye wash, ye wash, ye bonny may,
And ay's ye wash your sark of silk;"
"It's a' for you, ye gentle knight,
My skin is whiter than the milk."

The knight's shirt, in this instance, is literally his fate.

The number and variety of these folk beliefs serve to point the way by which the humble things of life become symbolic. Fate, which is always more "ny to man" than his shirt, comes to be

³ Silken sarks appear in balladry as tokens which legitimate a messenger. The lady will recognize it because "her own hand sewed the seam." Cf. Child's notes and texts for *Child Maurice* (No. 83) and *Johnie Scott* (No. 99).

⁴ Cf. the various versions of the "Wright's Chaste Wife," *Gesta Romanorum*; Herbert, *Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 233 (the Wright's shirt could never be soiled or torn while he and his wife were faithful to one another.) For shirts turning black when the owner dies see Hartland, *Perseus*, Vol. II, p. 10.

⁵ In the Scotch folk tale, *The Black Bull of Norrway* (Chambers, R. C., *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1847, pp. 244 ff.), and in the Middle Eng. romance of *Sir Generides*, a blood or tear stained shirt can only be cleansed by the hero's lost sweetheart. The magic shirt is here used as an identity test. In other tales it has even more magical properties. Campbell, *The Fiens*, London, 1891, p. 182, tells how certain enemies of Finn were made magically strong by shirts made for them by fairy sweethearts. The magic shirts of disenchantment are best known through Grimm's fairy tale of the *Six Swans*.

⁶ Cf. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Index, Lavandières de nuit; Schoepferle, "The Washer of the Ford," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* XVIII, p. 65 (1919).

represented by the shirt itself. In the work shop of popular fancy, where so many looms had spun so many shirts of destiny, it is probable that the phrase was likewise coined which Chaucer used with such pleasant zest.

SHAKESPEARE'S "LIVING ART"

By J. S. REID
Cambridge, England

The passage on which I desire to comment is in "Love's Labour's Lost," I, i, 12, 13 (speech by the king of Navarre):

Our court shall be a little Academe
Still and contemplative in living art.

The expression "living art" is hard to interpret, and commentators afford very little aid. The note of Furness is as follows: "Living art", that is, in that art of which we shall give a living proof. Although the little academe shall be still in its contemplation, yet it will be active in its living examples of a rule of conduct. It seems to me that there is an antithesis between 'still' and 'living.' *Schmidt's* definition (s.v. 'art') 'immortal science' is, to me, impossible; living is not ever-living, and 'art' is not *science*! The words of the text, however, on the face of them, exclude the idea of antithesis. Contemplation is not contrasted with action; the 'living art' exists in contemplation, and is not contrasted with it.

The whole scene contains, I think, reminiscences of certain features of the post-Aristotelian, especially the Stoic, philosophy, as expressed by Latin writers. The Stoic division of philosophy into three portions, viz., φυσική, λογική, ἠθική, was known in every school. In the writings of Sixtus, Empiricus, Epictetus, and many other late authorities, this ἠθική is defined as τέχνη τοῦ βίου, in the Latin writers as *ars vitae* or *ars vivendi* (as in Cic. *De Fin.* 1, 42, and *Acad.* 2, 23). Of these three portions of philosophy the Stoics made the third overwhelmingly important, so that sometimes *philosophia* was defined as itself *ars vitae* (so in Cic. *De Fin.* 3, 4 and in Sen. *Ep.* 95, 8.). Again, the Stoics laid great stress on the moral value of contemplation of the universe; cf. Cic. *Cato M.* 77, "credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo et constantia." So Sen. *De Ira* 2, 16, 2, and in many other later writers, as Synesius 128 (Migne), ὁ τοι Σάμωσ Πυθαγόρας ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

(the right reading is obviously οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ) θεάμονά φησιν εἶναι τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ γενομένων. The same statement about Pythagoras is in Lactantius, 3, 9; in the *Plac. Phil.* I, 1, and in a Pythagorean fragment in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 1, 62, 3. The correspondence of *ars vivendi* with "living art" is striking, and the whole setting of the context harmonizes with the conception, which was to be found in writers more read in the schools of Shakespeare's day than now, viz. Seneca, and Cicero's philosophical writings.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare: Eine Einführung in das Verständniss des Dramatikers, by Levin L. Schücking. XV+286 pp. Verlag von Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1919.

The use of the historical method in Shakespeare criticism began at least as early as the epoch of Samuel Johnson.¹ Johnson understood, for instance, some of the literary circumstances under which Shakespeare wrote. He actually read some of Shakespeare's stories in the form in which they became known to Shakespeare himself, and he occasionally passed judgment upon the dramatist's use of these sources. He observed that these stories are not always noble or weighty in content, and that Shakespeare's alterations of incident or personality sometimes resulted in incongruities.²

The beginnings of this sort made by Johnson and his eighteenth-century successors, however, were submerged in the fine enthusiasms and transcendental insights of the critical schools that followed. Historical criticism has only a negligible place in the romantic criticism of Schlegel, Coleridge, and Hazlitt, and in the metaphysical criticism of the German Hegelians, such as Ulrici and Gervinus. Through the potency of these men Shakespeare became for the nineteenth century less the industrious Elizabethan dramatist, and more the disembodied spirit of art and truth. "He never introduces a word, or a thought in vain or out of place," declares Coleridge. "Shakespeare never followed a novel because he found such and such an incident in it, but because he saw that the story, as he read it, contributed to enforce, or to explain, some great truth inherent in human nature."

But with all its priceless insights, the adoration of Shakespeare that accumulated during the nineteenth century could not be permanently endured, partly because of its violation of historical fact, and partly because of its sheer extravagance. The culmination of this extravagance was reached, perhaps, about the time of the Shakespeare tercentenary of 1864. It was then, in any case, that the modern reaction seems to have begun. Within a year or so appeared Rümelin's famous little volume,

¹ Dryden and Rymer knew something of Shakespeare's use of sources, and the early editors, Rowe (1709), Pope (1725), Theobald (1733). Hanmer (1743), and Warburton (1747)—especially Theobald—had considerable information concerning the literary and social conditions under which Shakespeare wrote. Under Johnson's encouragement, presumably, Charlotte Lennox, in her *Shakespear Illustrated* (3 Vols., 1753-4), reprinted the supposed sources for some twenty-two plays, thus aiding Johnson in his critical observations. To these matters I am giving attention in a forthcoming study.

² For an example, see Johnson's edition of 1765, Vol. I, p. 259.

Shakespearestudien,³ and from that day on, one may trace a fresh tradition of Shakespeare criticism, a tradition based, once more, upon the historical method, and skeptical in its temper toward Shakespeare's art. In Germany and France this new skepticism was received with a certain hospitality;⁴ but among those who speak Shakespeare's language it has been generally silenced, until this twentieth century.⁵

Professor Schücking's volume, then, carries forward the modern impulse of Shakespeare skepticism launched by Rümelin and his contemporaries, and the new critic very appropriately pays homage more than once to his German predecessor.⁶ True to the new tradition, Professor Schücking bases his criticism upon the historical conditions of Shakespeare's art: the sociological position of the drama, traditions of thought, the demands of the public audience, the dramatist's use of sources and of theatrical conventions. Finding in the plays, as he believes, innumerable obscurities, inconsistencies, and lapses from modern taste, the critic charges them chiefly to two conditions: first the poet's sheer carelessness and lack of artistic conscience, condoned by the public audience; and secondly, a primitiveness in the dramatic art of Shakespeare's day, from which he could not have escaped even if he had perceived its imperfection.

That the plays show signs of carelessness, or of artistic exuberance, no one will now deny. In these days, even the orthodox speak of "the sins of a great but negligent artist," and can assert with impunity that "Shakespeare lacked the conscience of the artist who is determined to make everything as good as he can." In some of his observations, indeed, Professor Schücking omits mention of the orthodox who have preceded him in his skepticism. The "mangelnder Einklang" that he finds in the poetic speech of unpoetical persons,⁸ for example, was noted,

³ The preface is dated November, 1865.

⁴ For examples see Humbert, C., *Molière, Shakespeare und die deutsche Kritik*, Leipzig, 1869; Benedix, R., *Die Shakespearomanie: Zur Abwehr*, Stuttgart, 1873; Büchner, A., *Les Derniers Critiques de Shakespeare*, Caen, 1876.

⁵ For examples of the historical method and the skeptical attitude see Bridges, R., in *The Works of William Shakespeare*, Stratford Head Press Edition, Vol. X, Stratford, 1907, pp. 321-334; Stoll, E. E., in *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 281-303, Vol. VII, pp. 557-575, Vol. X, pp. 55-80, Vol. XII, pp. 197-240; *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXII, pp. 201-233; *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. X, pp. 236-279; *University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature*, Nos. 2 and 7; Lewis, C. M., *The Genesis of Hamlet*, New York, 1907; Robertson, J. M., *The Problem of "Hamlet,"* London, 1919; Shaw, G. B., *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, 2 Vols., New York, 1907, *passim*. Of these studies the most extensive and important are those of Professor Stoll. I omit his titles merely for brevity.

⁶ For references to Rümelin, see Schücking, pp. 23, 110, 179.

⁷ Bradley, A. C., *Shakespearean Tragedy*, London, 1911, pp. 75, 77.

⁸ See Schücking, pp. 90-93.

a hundred years apart, by Coleridge and Bradley.⁹ In certain other illustrations, however, the critic speaks independently and, I hope, in permanent isolation. He tells us, for example, that the personality of Polonius shows a careless lack of unity: an incongruous combining of stupidity and wisdom.¹⁰ The wisdom, that is to say, is largely spoken not by the foolish Polonius, but by Shakespeare himself.

“So fällt schon die Betrachtung, dass Kürze des Witzes Seele ist, ein wenig aus dem Rahmen; die Bemerkung ferner, dass das Alter das an Misstrauen zu viel hat, was die Jugend davon zu wenig besitzt, ist zu gut für Polonius; auch das geniale Paradox vom ‘Ueberzuckern des Teufels’ ist echter Shakespeare. . . . So müssen wir denn auch hier zu dem unabweisbaren Schluss kommen, dass die Einheit des Charakters durchbrochen ist und ihm in der Abschiedsrede Worte und Gedanken in den Mund gelegt sind, die vom Dichter unmittelbar gesprochen werden, aber mit dem Charakter und Wesen des Sprechenden nicht in Zusammenhang zu bringen sind.”¹¹

Although it would be obviously unfair to imply that Professor Schücking's characterization of Polonius can be presented in this summary fashion, his notion of disunity in this dramatic figure may be thus clearly discerned. This notion was, of course, familiar as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, and it was combatted—successfully, I think—by both Warburton and Johnson.¹² I surmise that for most readers of the play Johnson sufficiently resolved the alleged disunity by his “idea of dotage encroaching upon wisdom.”

But since the charge of mere carelessness must necessarily lead to mere quarrel, let us proceed to the more definite charge of primitiveness in specific dramatic devices. Here the chief contention is that, both in dialogue and in soliloquy, the utterances of a character are often to be interpreted in a primitive *literal* sense, rather than through an indirect *psychological* bearing. Thus when a character speaks about himself¹³ we must often accept his assertion as mere objective truth, without inferring an unconscious psychological exposure. When Caesar commends his own power and fearlessness, we are told, we must accept his assertions as mere information concerning his greatness, and we must not commit the error of accounting Caesar a braggart or a coward. He is not boasting; he is merely giving us useful information about himself.¹⁴ And we are warned against a similar error in interpreting what one character says about another.¹⁵ When Laertes insists to Ophelia that in his court-

⁹ See Coleridge, *Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare* (edited by Ashe, T., London, 1885), pp. 89-90; Bradley p. 74.

¹⁰ See Schücking, pp. 96-107.

¹¹ Schücking, pp. 101, 106.

¹² See Johnson's edition of 1765, Vol. VIII, pp. 182-183.

¹³ See Schücking, pp. 25-48 (“Die unmittelbar Selbsterklärung”).

¹⁴ See Schücking, pp. 36-48.

¹⁵ See Schücking, pp. 49-83 (“Die Charakterspiegelung”).

ship Hamlet has an unworthy motive, is he disclosing his own shallow suspicion, or merely an objective fact about Hamlet? Merely, we are assured, the latter¹⁶—and this in the face of Laertes' undeniable shallowness throughout the play!

But let us examine this doctrine somewhat more closely as applied to Shakespeare's soliloquies. In these utterances readers have been accustomed to find two sorts of information: objective facts about persons and things, and subjective, or indirect, disclosures concerning the speakers themselves. Since the device assumes that the speaker is thinking aloud, we inevitably grasp not only the objective facts that are passing through his mind, but also some impression of the person who admits such thoughts, and who expresses them in a particular way. In other words, our impression from a soliloquy includes psychological inferences as to the world *within* the speaker. Now Professor Schücking would have us believe that in these psychological inferences we are deluded, for in these matters, as he believes, Shakespeare's art is merely primitive and literal, not psychological. This conception may be illustrated by what Oliver says of Orlando after arranging that the wrestler, Charles, shall bring about Orlando's death:

"I hope I shall see an end of him; for my soul, yet I know not why, hates nothing more than he. Yet he's gentle; never school'd, and yet learned; full of noble device; of all sorts enchantingly beloved; and indeed so much in the heart of the world, and especially of my own people, who best know him, that I am altogether misprised." ¹⁷

To most readers, I assume, Oliver's admission to himself of Orlando's virtues has seemed a villain's natural reflection, and his words, "my soul, yet I know not why, hates nothing more than he," have suggested a villain's natural hesitation in wrong-doing. But for Professor Schücking Oliver's words favorable to Orlando are psychologically untrue: "*Wirklichkeitstreu* is *das kaum mehr*." As a *man*, Oliver never could have uttered them; he speaks them only as a *machine* conveying objective information concerning Orlando.¹⁸

Similarly invalid psychologically are Lady Macbeth, Iago, and Cloten, for example, when in soliloquy they mention their own villainy as being such. They cannot, we are told, be persons thinking such thoughts; they are merely dramatic devices for conveying to the audience useful information.¹⁹

If "primitiveness" of this particular sort can ever be proved of Shakespeare's art, we shall, of course, have to accept it. For the present I doubt its existence. I can see no psychological improbability in Oliver's

¹⁶ See Schücking, pp. 63-68.

¹⁷ *As You Like It*, I, i, 170-176.

¹⁸ See Schücking, pp. 57-58. Concerning the similar cases of Edmund and Iago see pp. 58-61.

¹⁹ See Schücking, pp. 32-33.

reflecting upon Orlando's virtues, and I can see no possibility of an audience's knowing when to cease thinking of Oliver as a hesitating human being, and when to regard him merely as a mechanical bearer of information. I infer, moreover, that Professor Schücking feels, at times, a similar difficulty; for he is not always ready to apply his own "primitive" interpretation.

"Besides, this Duncan

Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongu'd, against
The deep damnation of his taking-off."²⁰

When the murderer-to-be soliloquizes thus over the virtues of his victim, Professor Schücking feels something more than a "primitive" communication of objective information; in this utterance, at least, the critic infers that the speaker is disclosing also his own psychological struggle.²¹ Can we be sure, then, that there is no psychological disclosure also in the utterance of Oliver examined above? From such examples I infer that if aesthetic criticism has its dangers, so has also the "primitivism" of the historical critic.

But I have still to mention the most important matter treated in the book before us: the problem raised by the relations of Shakespeare's characters to the plots in which they display themselves.²² Here Professor Schücking will find support in the contributions of such writers as Stoll, Bridges, Lewis, and Robertson;²³ for like him, these other critics have discerned in one or another of Shakespeare's plays an incongruity between character and plot. They have sometimes found the hero developing into qualities and magnitudes that do not conform to the fabric of the action. They occasionally feel a psychological inconsistency between what the hero *is* and what he *does*.

Although these critics may charge the artistic imperfection in part either to the dramatist's carelessness or to his primitivism, they find also a specific cause in the known facts of Shakespeare's literary procedure. For his plots he commonly used the stories of other men, and these stories are sometimes trivial, violent, improbable, or even fantastic. In using a story, to be sure, Shakespeare made occasional alterations in detail; but the essentials of the fable he retained. But although committing himself to the plot, he transformed the characters; or, to put the matter more truly, he created personages who had never existed in the world before. Othello, for example, per-

²⁰ *Macbeth*, I, vii, 16-20.

²¹ See Schücking, p. 62.

²² See Schücking, pp. 109-205 ("Charakter und Handlung"). I hope I may be pardoned for remarking that I have treated this subject very briefly and generally in an article, "The Shakespeare Skeptics," in *The North American Review*, March, 1922. From this article I venture to repeat here an occasional phrase or opinion.

²³ To these writers I give exact references above.

forms the *acts* of Cinthio's Moor; but the *man*, Othello, never entered the world until Shakespeare fashioned him. The Macbeth of the play does the deeds recorded by Holinshed; but the soul of this man was born of the dramatist. Hamlet follows a course of action provided by earlier writers; but the personality loved by us comes into existence only in Shakespeare's play. If, then, in the midst of old stories we encounter new and intense personages created by Shakespeare, we may justly inquire whether the new dramatic figures will submit to the traditional action. Will all of the new psychology conform to all of the old intrigue?

This question exposes what we may fairly call the chief problem of Shakespeare criticism in our day, and to it Professor Schücking gives ample space. We may be grateful, at least, for a clear statement of the matter in hand:

"Mann kann, wie wir gesehen haben, ein grundsätzliches Verhältniss von Charakter und Handlung bei Shakespeare nur insoweit feststellen, als er von der Handlung ausgeht und sich, so lange es irgend möglich, an sie hält. In vielen Fällen zwar scheint er uns ihr treuer zu bleiben, als es die Charakterzeichnung erlaubt."²⁴

The application of this doctrine will, of course, always lead to controversy. Just which characters become so real that we chafe at their submitting to fantastic adventure? Can we believe in the crimes of a morally enlightened Macbeth? Can we tolerate the homiletic unction in which a newly crowned Henry the Fifth dismisses Falstaff? In answering we must supplement historical criticism with aesthetic impressions and moral judgments. Our answers cannot be scientific. The possibility of cleavage between character and action is always present when new personalities are created in the midst of old intrigues; but it does not follow that Shakespeare could never elude the danger. The controversial aspect of the matter appears, then, when we cite examples. In the romantic comedies generally, the case would seem to be relatively clear. The stories themselves are often incredibly adventurous, and as such Shakespeare and the Elizabethans prized them. If, however, the characters in these stories are transformed into independent realities, as they sometimes are in the plays, the improbabilities of their doings may become almost innumerable. Hence we may receive hospitably, for instance, what Professor Schücking says of the unrealities of behavior in *Much Ado About Nothing* and *The Winter's Tale*.²⁵ But in more important instances he does not so readily win our assent. We are told, for example, that Cleopatra in the early part of the play is developed into a "Kokotte" such as could never have risen to the "königliche" nature necessarily demanded by the close of the story: "Es kann wohl nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass diese innerlich und äusserlich königliche Frau mit der Kokotte des ersten Teiles wenig gemeinsam hat."²⁶ In opposition to this opinion I, for my part, must hold that whatever change the character or

²⁴ Schücking, p. 191. The italics are mine.

²⁵ See Schücking, pp. 196, 199-200.

²⁶ Schücking, pp. 130-131.

mood of Cleopatra undergoes results not from careless art but from the valid spiritual transformation of the hero characteristic of Shakespeare's tragedy in general. Where is the essential power of Shakespeare more compelling than in the elevation of Romeo the trifler,

"Love is a smoke made with the fume of sighs;
Being purg'd, a fire sparkling in lover's eyes;
Being vex'd, a sea nourish'd with lovers' tears;"²⁷

into Romeo the desperate master of life,

"O, here
Will I set up my everlasting rest,
And shake the yoke of inauspicious stars
From this world-wearied flesh."²⁸

I confess my own wonder not at the elevating of Cleopatra's character, but at the absence of a still more ample transformation.

But in treating the relation of plot to character Professor Schücking's chief contribution is not his opinions concerning specific plays, but rather his appeal to Shakespeare's general literary procedure—a procedure in which, I repeat, always lurks the danger that a newly created personage may outgrow the design of a borrowed action.

In summary one should gratefully acknowledge the usefulness of this volume as a rigid application of the historical method. It wisely reminds us again of Elizabethan theatrical conditions, of conventions in types of character, and of Shakespeare's use of sources and of stage-devices. The critic's very special conception of "primitivism" in dialogue and soliloquy seems to be largely erroneous. Like all historical criticism, finally, that of Professor Schücking leaves us at some distance from ultimate interpretation. Into the essence of Shakespeare it does not penetrate. That essence is, in general, relatively independent of historical circumstances. The student of these circumstances serves us in pointing out the materials and conventions employed; but for entrance into the mysteries of Shakespeare's creative transformation of materials, historical criticism must yield to aesthetic insight and moral judgment.

KARL YOUNG.

University of Wisconsin.

Wie, Wo, Wann ist die Ilias entstanden? by Dr. Adolf Lörcher. 128 pp.
Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1920.

This book is founded on arguments advanced by Mülder in his *Ilias und ihre Quellen* that the Iliad is the result of a group of early songs worked over and expanded by a creative poet in comparatively late times.

Mülder regarded the character of Achilles and the "Wrath" as the work of this late poet who was thus the author of the Iliad, but Lörcher regards

²⁷ *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 196-198.

²⁸ *Id.* V, iii, 109-112.

even this late poet as being older than the poem we now have and thinks that the character of Nestor is the real contribution of this final poet of the completed epic.

The poem was created for the great festivals at Olympia, but the poet himself was probably a wandering bard from Ionia. This bard added the character of Nestor, because of the fact that the exploits and the fame of that hero were connected with the regions adjacent to the Alpheus River.

The "Wrath" was composed at a time when the lords were in revolt against the authority of the kings who ruled by divine right, and Achilles is the champion of the nobility in that struggle, but in the present Iliad the tone is conservative and assumes the offensive. In this poem the lords and the kings have united under the banner bearing these words: "A government of many is not a good thing, let there be one king." Thersites is made to represent the spirit of democracy in the revolt against nobility and autocracy. The character of this revolt, as well as the appearance of Thersites, gives a definite, an unambiguous date for determining the time of the origin of the poem. This era must be the age of the great party upheavals in the first half of the sixth century and thus the poet of the Iliad is later than Tyrtaeus, Archilochus, and Callinus, being a contemporary with Solon, Sappho, and Alcaeus.

The four hundred years of antiquity which Herodotus assigned to Homer must be reduced to one hundred and fifty.

The creator of the finished Iliad had talent, but was without genius, *alles in allem ein Talent, doch kein Genie*; he had a certain knack of composing rapidly, but this knack was at the expense of depth and originality, *leicht und schnell auf Kosten der Tiefe und Eigenart*; yet a good-fellow and entertaining, *liebenswürdiger und unterhaltender*.

Socrates said to Crito: "Those who are pleased with these things and those who are not have nothing in common so that they are obliged to regard the opinions of each other with contempt." I have no doubt that my belief in Homer as a supreme genius seems as foolish to Lörcher as his beliefs seem to me.

JOHN A. SCOTT.

Northwestern University.

Die homerischen Gleichnisse, von Hermann Fränkel. 119 pp. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1921.

This pamphlet was written under the guidance of Wilamowitz and was published with the financial help of the same scholar by means of the Wilamowitz-Diels Fund.

The author begins with a philosophical discussion of the nature and the theories of similes, denying the statement of Finsler that Homeric similes as a rule have but one point of comparison and that all the rest of the simile is pure poetic adornment, and he, Fränkel, compares the simile to the flute or the violin in an orchestra which carries in a solo the entire theme of the music. The *Vergleichungspunkt*, "the point of comparison,"

which has been so prominent in similar discussions, conceals the worth and the beauty of Homeric poetry.

Then follows a careful and intelligent collection of the similes under their various categories, such as similes drawn from the elements, trees, plants, agriculture, lightning, and the rest. The comments seem to me fair and judicious, despite the effort to adjust them to the theory of early and late poetic strata. The author regards the similes which deal with ships and navigation as late, but those describing the uncontrolled waves and violent storms as early, these early similes coming from an age when men looked with terror on the sea.

It must be a trifle confusing for those who find proofs in Homer for diverse origin to see how rarely these proofs agree: *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 212 ff., advanced the theory that the Odyssey differed widely from the Iliad in its lack of sensibility to all the phenomena of the heavens, while the Iliad was most responsive to storms, winds, and the elements. Fränkel just reverses this and says, p. 102, *In der Ilias gibt es fast kein Wetter*, then compares these silences with the storms, the cold, the snow, and the rain so sympathetically described in the Odyssey.

No such pamphlet would be complete without pointing out some new defect in Homer, and the author here claims absolute priority; p. 43: *So N 588, das man bisher freilich unbeanstandet gelassen hat. Wie können Bohnen vom Schwung und vom Wind gemeinsam getrieben werden, während doch das Worfeln gegen den Wind erfolgt?* Of course the beans are driven into the wind by the winnowing-shovel, and the combined action of the two winnows the beans. This author also repeats the nonsense about the double recension of the wasps in XVI 260, a simile which could not be misunderstood by anyone who is at all familiar with wasps. The knowledge Homer shows of every phase of rural life makes him hard to understand by people who have always lived in the city.

When Homer is understood he is never absurd, and all that is necessary to appreciate him is full knowledge of the conditions under which the poet lived. We shall never have that full knowledge, but the new light of the last fifty years has lifted much of the obscurity, and in every case this new light has revealed the sanity and the lucidity of the poet.

JOHN A. SCOTT.

Northwestern University.

Das dichterische Kunstwerk: Grundbegriffe der Urteilsbildung in der Literaturgeschichte, by Emil Ermatinger. viii+405 pp. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig-Berlin, 1921.

The author of this remarkable work first draws attention to two different methods of writing the history of literature, the historical-positivistic and the philosophical-reflective. The first method, which goes back to Comte, Taine, and Wilhelm Scherer, examines critically the external historical facts, arranges this material in chronological order, presents the lives of the authors in their evolution, and discusses their productions according to the

origin and the relation of material and form, contents and technique. The second method is marked by a spiritual-philosophical attitude in the interpretation of literature. Here external facts are assumed or are considered unimportant.

Professor Ermatinger believes that the result of an investigation of extraneous matters can be only a delusion. Following Bertram, in his *Nietzsche*, he declares that all we can say about the real essence or personality of people whose memory has come down to the present is really a mythos. The science of history therefore borders upon mythology. It is one thing for a poet to write a *Faust*, that is, a mythos, and quite another thing for a scientific author to write about the personality of the historical Faust, as he sees it. While Professor Ermatinger gives proper credit to the valuable work done by the historical-positivistic method, and criticises the philosophical method when it shows a tendency toward dilettante or "blue stocking" treatment of literature, he finds more real virtue in the method that treats the "Gegenstand der Geschichte" only as a symbol of what has happened, a mythos. The one method is exclusively scientific, the other merely aesthetic; however, in both the mind is turned away from active moving life, from fellowship with humanity in the widest sense, and it must be remembered that ignorance of life is not a proof of wisdom. On the contrary, much wisdom comes from a living interpretation of ideas, conceptions, and movements. This seems to be the basis of his own method, and he maintains that a historian should balance his knowledge of what has been with what is in process of growth, "das Gewordene gegen das Bedürfnis des Werdenden," for history, viewed with the really great ideas of the present, becomes to the living generation a mirror of its own strivings and being. He asks whether all great historians of literature have not written in this manner, above all Gervinus. The idea of growth, of development, is constantly in mind; the emphasis is put upon being "werdend" rather than "fertig." Our author says his plan may be called dynamic or organic. His point of departure is away from materialistic "Positivismus und Psychologismus," as in his *Die deutsche Lyrik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von Herder bis zur Gegenwart* (See *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 1, pp. 154-156). He is firm in his belief that the methods and the results of psychological research have little value with reference to the formation of literary judgments, and that psychiatry and psycho-analysis have much less, except perhaps in the case of a psychopathic writer like Hölderlin. With Professor Ermatinger all life, all poetic creation, is considered as experience, as an ego-conditioned creation, that is, the "Welt" is a creation of the ego. The conventional is merely material, a crude mass, to be used in the process of life. Life is not simply rest, not simply movement, but a working together and a counteracting of both, and the result of this "Zusammenwirken" and "Gegenwirken" is the product of the creative ego. And he states further that in genuine poetic work there is no motive without idea, no idea without motive. The two are related to each other as body and soul.

With these principles in mind the author discourses upon subjects of wide range, such as belief and knowledge in experience, the origin of the poetic contemplation of the world and its character and problems, the philosophical contemplation of the world, the conception of inner and outer form, the soul atmosphere in poetry, the inner motivation, rhythm as motivation in the lyric, rhythm in prose, the symbolical, etc.

The last eighty pages of the book are devoted to the lyric, the epic, and the dramatic "Wirkungsform." The author points out the fundamental differences in the various types of poetry in order to make the proper approach to his discussion. The well-known essentials may be summed up in a few words. The nature of the lyric character, in contrast with the epic and the dramatic, is helplessness against the demands of the outer life. In general the lyric poet does not have in mind a public; his poem is primarily an expression rather than a communication. The epic poet communicates; he narrates his story for an audience, possibly a small one. The public of the dramatist is quite different from that of the epic poet; as the stage-director in *Faust* says, "Halb sind sie kalt, halb sind sie roh." The dramatist must create intensive agitation of conflicting forces.

Starting with these well-known differences in clear outline, Professor Ermatinger discusses with admirable scholarship and sound logic the principal types of poetry and presents what he considers the proper manner of approach to a sympathetic interpretation.

The book is a masterpiece in its field, and it will bring additional honor to the author whose prestige is already recognized by serious students of literature.

C. B. W.

Manuel des études grecques et latines, by L. Laurand. Picard, Paris. 1921.

It is rather remarkable in this highly specialized age that one man should be able to produce so good a book covering so many fields. Developed from the experience of the author and intended for use in French universities, it will be found useful elsewhere. It may be used by professors in survey courses for graduate students and by the students privately in preparation for the doctorate. There is no other book just like it. It gives brief summaries of the various branches of classical philology, with short bibliographies of important books. It is briefer than the *Companions* of Whibley and Sandys. The seven parts cover (1) Greek geography, history and institutions (public and private), (2) Greek literature, (3) historical Greek grammar, (4-6) the same fields in Latin studies, (7) miscellaneous. The work is intended to give a general survey and as such gives a remarkable number of facts presented in a fashion that is easily comprehended. The history is presented in outline form and is exceedingly brief. Most space is given to literature, Greek and Roman. The bibliography is selected and, naturally, many readers will differ as to the relative importance of works cited and omitted by Laurand. It is to be expected that French works should receive preference over others, as the book is intended primarily for French

students, but it is somewhat disappointing to see what we regard as important American works disregarded in favor of French, German, English and Italian books. Other omissions are due to other causes. I note, e. g., the absence of the new edition of Forcellini's *Onomasticon*, now appearing, and Hiller's *Tibullus* (useful for its index, at least).

The seventh part, entitled "Metric and Complementary Sciences," seems the least satisfactory. Fifty-two pages are given to Greek and Latin metric, eleven each to text criticism, palaeography and epigraphy. The page of epigraphical abbreviations seems rather futile in its meagreness. Numismatics, archaeology, history of philology, are also sketched. Some interesting remarks on fields of work awaiting the investigator conclude this part. These remarks are for the benefit of the student, not unknown in our own institutions, who thinks that there is nothing left to investigate. A full alphabetical index concludes the volume.

B. L. U.

Paul Flemings Leben in seinen Gedichten, by Rudolf von Delius. 54 pp. Walter Seifert, Stuttgart-Heilbronn.

The purpose of this little book is to present in convenient form the essentials of the poetical life of a seventeenth-century author who has not been fully appreciated by literary historians. It is divided into three sections: I. Sonnette, II. Elegien, Lieder, Epigramme, and III. Religiöse Sonnette.

Fleming's special importance in the development of German verse lies in the fact that he was a pioneer in the field of personal lyrics; his poems have a definite place in his own life and in that of the three sisters, Elisabeth, Elsabe, and Anna Niehusen, whom he celebrates in song as the "three graces." In their cheering company for a while he found comfort when Europe was in the throes of the Thirty Years' War, and then after losing Elsabe to another suitor and after a short engagement to Anna he died at the age of thirty, broken in health, but brave, cheerful, and proud in spirit. Possibly his best known poem is the acrostic, "Ein getreues Herze wissen," which was inspired by the rather cold Elsabe. Fleming's philosophy of life may be summed up in his own words,

"Sei dennoch unverzagt, gib dennoch unverloren!
Weich' keinem Glücke nicht, steh' höher als der Neid!"

C. B. W.

C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii Belli Gallici, ed. A. Klotz. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig. Editio maior, 1921; editio minor, 1920.

This new critical edition of Caesar is based, not on a reexamination of the manuscripts, but on the material given by earlier editors, notably Meusel, and on the collation of L published by Holmes. The preface summarizes the evidence which shows that the β family of manuscripts is on a par with the α family. Klotz seems to be going in the right direction

in continuing the swing away from the opinion of Nipperday, that α was greatly superior. A glance through the critical apparatus for the first book reveals several places in which Klotz differs from Meusel, by giving preference to the readings of β .

Several pages are devoted to the question of interpolation. Klotz believes that Meusel in his latest editions has gone too far in bracketing words, phrases, and passages as non-Caesarian. He admits that there are interpolations, particularly of a geographical nature, and continues the practice of bracketing, *inter alia*, the familiar passage at the end of the first chapter, which gives a geography lesson on the boundaries of Gaul. The long description of Britain in the fifth book is also bracketed by Klotz, following Wex. In general, however, his reaction against Meusel's mania for interpolation is welcome.

The difficulty of deciding between α and β in a given passage engages Klotz's attention, especially when it comes to word order. He calls attention to the importance of this subject and comments favorably on my discussion of Caesarian order. He accepts in the main my decisions between α and β in this regard. As Klotz observes, the difficulty of deciding between α and β on palaeographical grounds makes necessary a careful study of Caesarian usage, to the study of which Klotz himself has in the past made notable contributions. The earlier editors who adopted the reading of α whenever possible had an easy time.

On the interesting question whether Caesar wrote the various books in the years of which they treat or composed the entire work at the end of his Gallic campaigns, Klotz takes a somewhat middle ground. He thinks that the whole work was actually written at one time, but that Caesar incorporated in it the substance of letters which he had previously sent to Rome. The argument of S. Reinach (*Revue de Philologie*, 1915) that parts of the first book were written at different times is not mentioned.

The editio minor gives text only, without preface and critical apparatus.

B. L. U.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

The Attitude of Contemporary French Drama towards Marriage,
by CHARLES E. YOUNG, Associate Professor of Romance
Languages, University of Iowa

Note on *Bandello*, parte I, novella 14, by ALEXANDER HAGGERTY
KRAPPE, Instructor in Romance Languages, Indiana University

A *Vade Mecum* of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury, by
E. K. RAND, Professor of Latin, Harvard University

Greek and Latin Etymologies, by FRANCIS A. WOOD, Professor of
Germanic Philology, University of Chicago

Notes on Glover's Influence on Klopstock, by FLETCHER BRIGGS,
Instructor in German, Harvard University

Fielding and the Cibbers, by CHARLES W. NICHOLS, Assistant
Professor of English, University of Minnesota

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CONTENTS

Marriage in the French Drama - - - -	<i>Charles E. Young</i>	241
A <i>Vade Mecum</i> of Liberal Culture in a MS of Fleury	<i>E. K. Rand</i>	258
Fielding and the Cibbers - - - - -	<i>Charles W. Nichols</i>	278
Glover's Influence on Klopstock - - - -	<i>Fletcher Briggs</i>	290
Bandello, Parte I, Novella 14 - - -	<i>Alexander H. Krappe</i>	301
Additional Pioneer Iowa Word List - - -	<i>Frank L. Mott</i>	304
Roman Coins in Ancient Germany - - - -	<i>B. L. Ullman</i>	311
Book Review - - - - -		318
LEON KELLNER, <i>Die englische Literatur der neuesten Zeit von Dickens bis Shaw</i> (M. A. Shaw).		

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MARRIAGE IN THE CONTEMPORARY FRENCH DRAMA

By CHARLES E. YOUNG
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

The present article brings up to date an earlier study of the problems related to marriage as treated in the drama of France from 1850 to 1910.¹

The plays used as sources are those dealing with contemporary French life. Translations and adaptations of foreign material have not been drawn upon, nor have plays dealing with exotic subjects, or historical plays. It is, of course, to be remembered that the war caused a great hiatus in dramatic production. Many plays, of course, do not touch upon the question of marriage at all. As a result of these limitations of material, the number of plays on which the study is based is not very large, but the number of different writers is considerable. It seems, therefore, that the thirty or more plays used as a basis, having been deemed of sufficient merit to be published in the theatrical supplement to *L'Illustration*, present a fairly representative cross section of the French drama for the last decade. This is especially true since no writer dominates the field. That is to say, the ideas set forth regarding the marriage question are not the hobby or ideas of any one man. For convenience these ideas may be roughly grouped under a few general headings. The most comprehensive of these may be called:

THE ELEMENTS ENTERING INTO A SUITABLE MARRIAGE

A husband and father has involved himself, for the sake of a mistress, in financial dishonor and ruin. Speaking of their

¹ (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series, Vol. 5, No. 4.)

marriage, his wife reminds him that her brother made the match possible by giving up to her his share in the family fortune. She says in part: "Ton père qui te laissait une banque de premier rang avait de grandes exigences à ton sujet—Mon frère et moi étant de famille aristocratique—moi me mariant dans la finance, cela risquait de faire dire que j'avais été sensible à un mariage d'argent—Par la fortune que je t'ai apportée—mon mariage est resté aux yeux de tous le mariage d'amour qu'il était en moi." (P. Hervieu, *Le Destin est Maître*,² I, v). It is evident that marriage for money must not be publicly entered into; that family does not always balance fortune, and that girls desire love matches.

The fact that a family scandal may break up a projected marriage is brought out in the remark of the brother to his sister concerning her daughter's matrimonial prospects: "Ce tendre rêve qu'il [le mari] aura rendu irréalisable! Ce chant d'oiseau qui va s'étouffer dans cette pauvre gorge." (*Ibid.*, II, v). And also: "Dans ce naufrage où nous sommes ne sens-tu pas que les enfants sont les victimes les plus navrantes? Je sais qu'un projet de mariage a commencé de naître dans l'âme de ta fille." (II, x).

Insistence on dowry and the importance of family are so common that it is more interesting to cite exceptions than to pile up evidence on the conventional side. A respectable, middle-aged "rentier" has been arranging a marriage between his son and the daughter of a neighbor with the usual discussion of dowry. (P. Chaine, *L'Etrange Aventure de M. Martin-Péquet*,³ I, i, ii, iii, iv). Then he is hoaxed into believing that he has a child by a pre-marriage mistress. An "enfant trouvée" is produced to substantiate the claim. With his wife's consent M. Martin-Péquet adopts his supposed child. Later he finds out the deception, but in the meantime his nephew has fallen in love with her and there is no objection to the marriage with the foundling.

A play with the war as a background presents Noël in his fifty-second year marrying Marianne, much younger, with no

² *Petite Illustration*, 1919. Unless otherwise indicated, all following references will be to the same source, and will be given by year only.

³ 1920.

money and with a past. A former lover of hers returns from the war a cripple, Noël loses his money, and Marianne leaves him for the cripple. Noël says to a friend that he knows he has been criticised for his marriage. (A. Capus, *La Traversée*,⁴ I, iii). In a conversation with Noël, Marianne throws discredit on the importance of fidelity in marriage. He has stated that: "Il est impossible de parvenir à un certain degré de puissance, si on n'est pas fidèle à sa femme." To which she replies: "Voilà une preuve! D'abord toute l'histoire de France lui donne un démenti." (II, xii.)

A growing tendency among children, even girls, to assert their right to a choice in marriage is found in another post-war play. Jeanne, daughter of Brandon, who with his sons has built up an air-plane plant, is engaged to Jim, a pilot and mechanic. She is moody and dreamy, and regretfully longs for the past days of poverty and simple family life. Her father says of her state of mind: "Il y a un seul remède, un bon, le vrai mariage." To which she replies: "Sans amour." Her father says: "Sais-tu seulement ce que c'est que l'amour? C'est ton mari qui te le dira." (Ch. Méré, *Les Conquérants*,⁴ I, iv.) This is an example of the idea that love will come in time if the marriage is a suitable one. Jeanne now falls in love with de Belmont, whose old residence the Brandons want to buy as a part of their expanding plant. Though buried in debts incurred by a profligate father, de Belmont refuses to sell the home of his family. Here is a sentiment that Jeanne, weary of the materialism of her family, finds to her taste. She tosses her bonnet over the mill, and is discovered by her family in the house of de Belmont. He at once, to regularize the situation, asks her hand of her father. The latter says he is much honored, but will not spend his money to pay an aristocrat's debts. "Et ces dettes, qui les reconnaîtrait en fin de compte? Votre femme ou moi? J'aurais travaillé, peiné, risqué cent fois ma peau et ma fortune pour endosser les bêtises de m'sieur votre père!" (II, iv). This of course is an echo from *Le Gendre de M. Poirier* (III, iii). In the end the young people carry their point, and

⁴ 1920.

the father gives Jeanne the de Belmont home, free from debt, as a dowry.

Some still find civil marriage alone not enough, and attach importance to the church ceremony. A pious young girl loves a soldier whose faith in God has been destroyed by the war. At last they plan a civil marriage, but the girl's mother exclaims: "Le mariage civil! Pourquoi pas l'union libre? Ma fille vivrait en état de péché!" (E. Fleg, *La Maison du Bon Dieu*,⁵ III, v).

The way in which a family scandal may spoil the marriage chances of innocent members is again illustrated in the instance of a man who has shot a brother who was about to wed a girl he wanted to marry himself. His sister was also engaged. The old grandmother pleads that the assassin be allowed to escape. She says to the father: "Nous sortirions de ce débat flétris, déshonorés. Et que d'innocents pâtiraient! Ta fille, sa vie est brisée si la vérité vient à être connue. Qui l'épouserait? M. de Chatenois, devenir le beau-frère d'un condamné!" (E. Fabre, *La Maison sous L'Orange*,⁶ III, ii). The criminal decides to cut the knot by suicide. "Et je n'aurais pas le remords d'entraîner des innocents dans ma chute. Que ma sœur puisse se marier!" (III, iv).

Sometimes a strong sense of mid-Victorian devotion to the obligations of marriage prevents a woman from violation of vows. A young architect has won the love of the wife of a patron, but she will not consummate his desires. She says: "Il y a encore cette chose, le devoir. Je suis une bourgeoise qui ai contracté des tas d'engagements, en me mariant, et j'y crois aussi, à ceux-là. Mon mari et moi nous n'avons plus guère de liens moraux, mais je ne romprai pas le pacte de fidélité. Je me dois à mes enfants. Ce serait le bouleversement de toutes mes idées, de toutes mes croyances. Je suis une femme saine et bien de mon temps que ne hantent pas les scrupules et les contritions exagérées mais je demeure convaincue que la religion et la société nous interdisent la faute." (H. Bataille, *Les Sœurs d'Amour*,⁷ I, vi). Even at the last, when the turn of

⁵ 1920.

⁶ 1920.

⁷ 1919.

events has brought discovery, and the woman has left her husband for her lover, she in turn leaves him and goes back to her duty and her family.

It is interesting to note the diminished activity of M. Brieux. During the past ten years he has produced only three plays. None of these deals directly with questions related to marriage. Only one of them contains anything of this sort that is not merely the usual conventional matters, such as the inequality of the sexes and the fact that a girl needs a dowry. But his latest play adds a little more. This piece attempts to give some picture of Franco-American post-war relations. There is the double situation of the young French ex-poilu, now a doctor, in love with an American Red Cross worker, and an American ex-soldier in love with a French girl, the sister of the doctor. The American girl wants to take the French doctor back to America with her, but his father and sister have plans for him to marry a neighbor's daughter and to buy a country practice; all this in the most time-honored and conventional French way. After a struggle the young man decides he must stay in France and accept the program arranged for him. His American fiancée agrees with him. The French love for tradition is too strong to be set aside. A few citations follow. The Red Cross girl says to her French fiancé: "L'amour n'a pas l'importance chez nous qu'on lui accorde sous votre ciel. J'ai de l'affection pour vous, beaucoup d'estime: j'ai de la joie à la pensée que vous serez mon mari: mais je réaliserai ma vie telle que je l'ai rêvée avec vous, ou sans vous." (Brieux, *Les Américains Chez Nous*,⁸ II, i). The young man, speaking of the marriage planned for him by his family, says: "Bons camarades, mais de là au mariage!" and his sister replies: "En épousant Mathilde tu prends une jeune fille charmante, qui t'apporte une dot peu importante, mais acceptable." (II, xii). With this dowry he is to pay for his country practice. When his father learns of his desire to marry an American he says: "Mon enfant, il y a cinq ans si tu m'avais parlé de te marier avec une étrangère je m'y serais opposé. Mais tu as fait la guerre. Tout est changé. L'échelle des valeurs est renversée. Nos enfants ont

• 1920.

merité le respect de tous, même de leurs pères." (I, xv). The American girl contrasts for the French girl the attitude of the two nations as to marriage: "Henri va se marier. Il n'a plus déjà avec sa famille des liens aussi uniques. C'est la vie. La Bible dit: 'Tu quitteras ton père et ta mère.' Chez nous on n'y met pas tant de façons. Un garçon va se marier. Bien, cours ta chance! En France vous mettez du sentiment partout." (II, viii).

The American who marries Henri's sister says of age in marriage: "Une jeune fille de trente ans se dit: 'La date écrite sur ce papier indique j'ai trente ans, donc je ne dois plus songer au mariage.' " (*ibid.*, III, viii). But the French think the question of age is important. A man objects to having his son marry a girl of his own age. "C'est magnifique quand on a vingt ans d'avoir le même âge. Plus tard tu verras la différence qu'il y a entre un homme et une femme de cinquante ans. D'abord les femmes n'ont pas d'âge; elles sont jeunes ou elles sont vieilles. Quand elles sont jeunes elles nous trompent, quand elles sont vieilles elles ne veulent pas être trompées. Un homme ne se marie pas à dix-neuf ans, c'est idiot." (S. Guitry, *Mon Père Avait Raison*,⁹ I, i.) Yet in another play one argues against too great difference in age. A girl of twenty is infatuated with an actor of fifty. He says to her guardian: "J'ai cinquante ans, elle en a vingt. Est-ce un très beau mariage pour une jeune fille? Je crois que l'on ne peut s'aimer que si on a le même âge. Dans un couple aussi mal assorti que le nôtre je crois qu'on s'aime à tour de rôle, et je suis convaincu que je me mettrai à l'adorer jusqu'à en mourir le jour où elle cessera de m'aimer." (S. Guitry, *Le Comédien*,¹⁰ II, i).

As might be expected from his earlier plays, Brieux recognizes conventions in his later plays, but not with approval. He states that a girl without a dowry can rarely marry, unless a wealthy man, usually older, will marry her because she is unusually attractive. (*La Femme Seule*,¹¹ I, iii). Yet he would like a love match, for he makes a girl say: "Si j'épousais un monsieur que je ne pouvais pas aimer, je l'épouserais pour son argent et

⁹ 1920.

¹⁰ 1921.

¹¹ 1913.

je ne différerais pas d'une fille entretenue que parce que j'aurais fait enregistrer à la mairie ma petite saleté." (I, v). Sometimes the desire to appear to have a dowry produces a result contrary to that expected, as when a couple have bled themselves in order to dress a girl beyond their means, and a suitor is driven off by the prospect of having to support an extravagant wife. (*ibid.*, I, iii).

That the sins of the parents may be visited upon their children, whose chances for marriage will be hurt if there is a scandal current in regard to the parents, is thus further illustrated. A woman refuses to go away with the father of her daughter, a lover of hers, for: "Il faut que je pense à l'avenir de ma fille, et si je m'en allais avec toi, s'il y avait ce scandale dans ma vie, plus tard, au moment de la marier, on me rirait au nez et on dirait; 'Telle mère, telle fille; bon chien chasse de race.' Si je partais avec toi est-ce que mon mari voudrait encore s'occuper d'elle? et à présent plus que jamais il faut que nos filles aient une dot." (M. Donnay, *Amants*,¹² III, vi).

Age in marriage is again touched on in an appeal to a girl of twenty-four to marry at once: "Marie-toi le plus tôt possible et pour deux raisons. La première, c'est que maintenant, malgré ta fortune, tu cours encore des chances d'être épousée pour toi-même. Dans quelques années, tu auras beau être jolie, tu seras déjà une vieille fille. La deuxième, c'est que plus tu attendras, moins tu seras apte au mariage. Tu es indépendante, trop. Tu as déjà un caractère très net, des goûts précis, des habitudes. N'attends pas à avoir des manies. Nous ne sommes pas en Angleterre où les vieilles filles ont un troisième sexe et forment presque un partie politique. Surtout épouse un brave homme qui soit sain. Quant à l'intelligence, c'est un détail." (F. Croisset, *Le Cœur Dispose*,¹³ I, xiv). The girl in question feels that she has only two choices now: "Puisque de seize à vingt-trois ans je n'ai jamais éprouvé—même l'ombre d'un emballement pour un jeune homme, ce n'est plus la peine d'attendre. Il ne me reste donc plus que deux solutions, ou coiffer Sainte Catherine, ou en finir pour avoir le paix et des enfants, car j'aimerais

¹² 1921.

¹³ 1912.

des enfants." (I, xv). She engages herself to a much older man who thus accepts the fact that she does not really love him: "Ce n'est pas par amour que, jeune et jolie comme vous l'êtes, vous pourriez m'épouser. De la confiance, de l'estime, un peu de tendresse, voilà ce que je peux inspirer." (II, x).

The opposite idea, that of the necessity of love, is expressed by a young girl who is on the verge of being forced by her mother into a marriage without love. She says to a friend who has suggested that love is not the real essential: "Se marier sans amour, c'est effrayant. On s' imagine que tout s'arrangera, le monde, le mouvement, la vie. On compte sur la raison, sur l'habitude et on se dit: 'après tout je serai assez heureuse.' Ce n'est pas vrai. Etre assez heureuse ça ne veut rien dire. Il n'y a pas de demi-bonheur. Il vaut mieux être malheureuse, parceque quand on est malheureuse on peut encore espérer." (G. A. de Caillavert, R. de Flers et E. Rey, *La Belle Aventure*,¹⁴ I, xiv).

But there is more evidence on the side of the question that marriage is after all a sort of agreement or association into which people should enter on a basis of reason rather than of sentiment. This is an attitude so well established that it is only necessary to add a few specific cases in order to show that the passing of time and the war have not changed this conviction. For example, a young girl says: "Je veux épouser un homme pratique, un homme qui me fasse une vie brillante. M. Furst me paraît l'idéal du genre. Ce qu'il recherche en moi, c'est la nièce de Pilar Durand [a rich retired merchant]. Je le sais et ne lui en veux pas, au contraire." (L. Gleize, *Le Veau d'Or*,¹⁵ I, ii). Furst later says to this girl: "Je comprends le mariage comme une association où chaque associé doit travailler au bien-être, et je dirais volontiers à la gloire du ménage" (*ibid.*). But Pilar Durand himself desires his niece and is ready to marry her sans fortune. People will talk, he says, but "le roi peut bien épouser une bergère." (II, xiii).

Another example of the idea that love does not come first in marriage is seen in the common enough case of a girl who is

¹⁴ 1914.

¹⁵ 1914.

ready to marry to save her father's business. To the man she says: "Vous ne m'aimez pas encore et je ne vous aime pas non plus, mais vous verrez, ça viendra. Vous n'avez pas encore mon cœur; voici toujours ma main." (P. Veber et M. Gerbidon, *Un Fils d'Amerique*,¹⁶ II, v).

We may still find the "*Jeune Homme Pauvre*" situation and the girl who says she would rather go to a convent than marry a man she does not love, or even than marry a man she does love against the wishes of her parents. Her father calls her love for a poor man a "sentiment romanesque," but in the end she marries him. (E. Fabre, *Un Grand Bourgeois*,¹⁷ *passim*).

DIVORCE

After the general ideas relating to what constitutes a suitable marriage, the topic most frequently mentioned in recent plays is divorce. This is of especial interest in view of the fact that Dumas fils in the third quarter of the last century strove to make divorce possible, and insisted that, if it were possible, violations of the seventh commandment, both in real life and in the drama, would be much less frequent. Before the close of the century there were plays pointing out the evils, not the benefits of divorce (such as Brieux' *Le Berceau*, and Bourget's *Un Divorce*).

A wife has left her husband, but will not secure a divorce, for: "Elle a refusé à cause de la petite. Elle n'a pas même voulu d'une séparation légale. Elle est très bourgeoise; elle est assez vaniteuse. Bellangé est connu et elle ne tient pas à renoncer au nom de son mari." (de Porto-Riche, *Le Passé*,¹⁸ I, iv). But it is suggested to her that the conduct of the father of her child may bring on her as much discredit as a divorce would.

Like Sardou's *Divorçons*, we find a burlesque on divorce. A rich American suitor for a French girl admits having married and divorced half a dozen wives. He says he gives each wife a contract calling for an indemnity of 200,000 francs in case of divorce. To the shocked mother of the girl he thus explains his

¹⁶ 1914.

¹⁷ 1913.

¹⁸ This play was written in 1897, but was reprinted in *L'Illustration* in 1921.

position: "Quand j'aime une femme, je trouve immoral, dégoûtant de ne pas l'épouser et je l'épouse. Maintenant je trouve dégoûtant aussi de vivre en état de mariage avec une femme que je n'aime plus. Je suis trop sincère. L'adultère est fait pour les paresseux, les compliqués, les pauvres." (A. Savoir, *La Huitième Femme de Barbe-Bleue*,¹⁹ I, viii).

A brief but pithy observation as to the cause of both divorce and marriage is the following: "Les gens se séparent parce qu'ils ne s'entendent pas. Mais s'ils s'étaient compris tout de suite, ils ne se seraient jamais mis ensemble. Le malentendu fait des divorces: il fait encore plus d'unions." (T. Bernard, *Les Petites Curieuses*,²⁰ I, i).

A girl has married out of her class, and her "in-laws" have succeeded in alienating her husband by showing him her defects and by throwing in his path another girl. She returns to her own circle and implies that he is free to remarry, but there is no mention of divorce. There is, however, a unique reference to "une cour à Rome où on annule les mariages." (L. Népoty, *La Cigale Ayant Aimé*,¹⁹ III, viii.) This is unusual, for in cases where remarriage is contemplated the church, with its provision for separation but with its refusal of divorce, is not considered, the civil authority alone being sufficient.

There is a case of a woman trying to get her lover to divorce his wife and marry her. (A. Capus, *La Traversée*,²¹ I, ix). This is what Dumas fils claimed would be a cure for adultery.

Another instance of the use of divorce is seen in the case of a wife who divorces her husband because he has been sent to jail as a scapegoat for men "higher up" in a bank scandal. (R. Gignoux, *Vive Boulbasse*,²² *passim*).

That there are still people who accept the dictum of the church that marriage after divorce is no marriage, is evidenced in such a case as the following. A man has divorced his wife for the usual cause and remarried. A daughter by this marriage wants to marry a cousin of her brother by the first marriage.

¹⁹ 1921.

²⁰ 1920.

²¹ 1920.

²² 1921.

To this her mother objects: "Comment as tu songé un instant à entrer dans la famille de Vernac? Depuis son divorce avec Mlle. de Vernac et surtout depuis qu'il m'a épousée, ton père est détesté par ces gens." (E. Fabre, *La Maison Sous l'Orage*,²³ I, i). And again the second wife says: "Depuis non mariage ils [the relatives of the divorced first wife] ont intrigué et obtenu de tous les hobereaux du voisinage qu'ils me ferment leurs portes, sous prétexte que je ne suis pas mariée, ayant épousé un divorcé. Pour eux je ne suis pas une épouse légitime. Je ne suis qu'une concubine." (I, ii).

That divorce is an ever present possibility for those who do not get along well in double harness, and that it can be resorted to as a means of getting a chance for a fresh start is evident in such a situation as that of a returned soldier and his wife, who grow restless with the return to a life of peace. The wife says: "Quand nous sommes d'accord c'est par indifférence. Nous sommes comme deux voyageurs qui ne continuent leur route ensemble que parcequ'ils sont montés dans le même train." (R. de Flers et F. de Croisset, *Le Retour*,²⁴ I, iii). For this she sees only one solution, divorce. Her mother fears that Colette, the wife, will do something rash unless divorce is offered as a remedy. She says her husband is ready to give her this chance in order to begin her life again. (III, ii, iii). But in the end they reach an understanding and do not divorce.

Some would not take the divorce route as the way out of marital unhappiness. A man says to his wife, who has just suggested that she would like a divorce, and who does not understand why: "Ah, si tu m'avais trompé tu sais bien ce que je ferais; tu n'aurais pas besoin de divorcer, je ferais comme ça, il fait le geste de se brûler la cervelle." (D. Amiel et A. Obey, *La Souriante Madame Beudet*,²⁵ II, xi).

As soon as divorce becomes possible we find arguments advanced against it. One of these is on account of the unhappiness that divorce is likely to bring to innocent children. Of a son who is hostile to his father for having divorced and re-

²³ 1920.

²⁴ 1921.

²⁵ 1921.

married, one says: "Songe ce qu'il a dû souffrir, en voyant son foyer détruit et une étrangère remplaçant sa mère. Sans doute ce sont là des fatalités du divorce." (E. Fabre, *La Maison sous L'Orage*,²⁶ I, vii).

Further testimony to this fact, and to the restraint of religion, is seen in the following words from a wife who is really in love with another man, but who cannot bring herself to take the final step: "Un respect de moi même m'interdit d'affronter la honte qui m'attendrait. Et puis je suis croyante et un divorce avec une pareille différence d'âge et des enfants. Tout ce que j'insulterais de raisonnable et de sacré!" (H. Bataille, *Les Sœurs d'Amour*,²⁷ IV, v).

Another instance of regard for children is found in the case of a man whose wife left him when their son was small. For the child's sake he would not divorce and remarry. When the child is grown up the mother returns and then the father offers her a divorce. (S. Guitry, *Mon Père Avait Raison*²⁸).

To what lengths the church may go in its opposition to divorce is seen in the following case. Of an unhappy couple who do not divorce one says: "Ils appartiennent à un monde où le divorce n'est pas admis. Dans ce monde-là quand une femme n'est pas heureuse, son confesseur lui conseille d'avoir une liaison plutôt que de divorcer. Alors, qu'est ce qu'ils peuvent conseiller à un homme?" (M. Donnay, *Amants*,²⁹ II, v).

Another interesting example of the bringing of the church into the question of divorce is seen in the case of a man whose married mistress is a protestant. The man's mother wishes he could marry the woman and cease to neglect his career, but she abhors divorce. A friend says to her: "Ce n'est pas si terrible. Ces-gens-là sont protestants. Donc aux yeux de l'église cette femme n'a jamais été mariée. C'est même ce qu'il y a de parfait quand on prend une maîtresse dans une autre religion." (F. de Croisset, *L'Epervier*,³⁰ III, ii).

The same play offers testimony to the fact that divorce is

²⁶ 1920.

²⁷ 1919.

²⁸ 1920.

²⁹ 1921.

³⁰ 1914.

often demanded by guilty lovers who have no other excuse except their love. (III, iii).

That divorce is often used as a threat in trivial cases is seen in A. Capus' *L'Institut de Beauté*,³¹ III, xi.

Still another play shows the antagonism between religion and divorce. A wife who thinks herself "misunderstood," and who wants to divorce her husband, goes to a priest whom she had known when she was a child. She insists that she still is religious, but that her religion has become broader. The priest replies: "Vous êtes croyante, mais les exigences du dogme vous paraissent trop étroites. Vous voulez garder le doux nom de chrétienne seulement vous êtes une chrétienne adaptée. Vous aurez beau vous adapter, vous ne changerez pas que le mariage soit un sacrement, et l'écharpe du maire n'y peut rien. Savez-vous ce que c'est qu'une catholique divorcée? C'est un prêtre défroqué." (H. Kistermaekers, *La Flambée*.³² I, xi). She replies that in her extremity she had come to him and "Vous n'avez pu m'objecter qu'une religion organisée par les hommes et à laquelle il faut l'humilité des femmes." (I, xi).

An elderly woman, in spite of the fact that her son is a modern Don Juan who has had three divorces, says that divorce is a crime, and that her son has wounded her christian ideas with his divorces. (D. Niccodemi, *Les Requins*,³³ I, i, iv).

TOLERATION

That married people must bear and forbear is one of the precepts set forth in the earlier plays of Brioux. We find some few instances of it in recent dramas. Speaking of an erring husband, one says—of the wife—that she must learn more philosophy in regard to human weaknesses. (P. Hervieu, *Le Destin Est Maître*,³⁴ I, x).

A soldier who has been nearly four years a prisoner in Germany returns to his home and wife. An American officer had been a roomer with the latter, and on leaving had tried to get her to go with him, but she had refused. She is glad to see her husband

³¹ 1914.

³² 1912.

³³ 1913.

³⁴ 1919.

again, but the American is still on her mind. Her husband finally discovers this, and makes her so uncomfortable that she almost leaves him, but is restrained by the thought of how lonely he would be without her. He forgives and there are no threats of separation or revenge. (J. J. Bernard, *Le Feu Qui Reprend Mal*,³⁵ *passim*).

An attitude if not of toleration at least of philosophic acceptance of an unfortunate situation is thus voiced by a man who knows his wife is misconducting herself: "Puisque tout le monde connaît la conduite de ma femme, paraître l'ignorer moi-même serait puéril; m'en vanter serait odieux; en tout cas d'un goût déplorable; mais la constater devant des personnes choisies et sous une forme détachée et plaisante, c'est la seule attitude convenable pour un homme qui connaît les exigences de la vie, et je trouve qu'il y a une jolie place à prendre entre Georges Dandin et Othello." (M. Donnay, *Amants*,³⁶ I, x).

DOUBLE STANDARD

The double standard of sex morality is too well known and established for one to expect to find much reference to it or objection to it, but there is at least one case of a woman who does object. A young American wife, speaking to a young French wife, says that she does not see why a neglected wife may not accept the attentions of another man. "Est-ce que les hommes se gênent? Non. Alors pourquoi que les femmes renonceraient-elles à avoir un compagnon pour les heures de désœuvrement ou de tristesse?" (A. Pascal, *Le Caducée*,³⁷ II, x).

A similar case is as follows: "Je crois qu'on ne fait la cour qu'aux femmes qui le veulent et que lors qu'elles le veulent c'est presque toujours la faute de leur mari." (P. Decourcelle et A. Maurel, *La Rue du Sentier*,³⁸ II, v).

The following dialogue between two brothers throws light on the attitude toward marriage as compared to other "adventures." "Le Mariage est la seule chose sérieuse, sacrée. C'est de la sécurité qu'on place en rente viagère, de l'amour qu'on met

³⁵ 1921.

³⁶ 1921.

³⁷ 1921.

³⁸ 1913.

de côté en pensant: je n'y toucherai pas, c'est pour plus tard. On se marie pour sa vieillesse."

"Le charme du foyer solide, c'est qu'il vous donne la dé-mangeaison des petits voyages."

"Et le charme des petits voyages c'est la certitude du foyer solide." (L. Népoty, *La Cigale Ayant Aimé*,³⁹ II, v.)

That a girl may have a past and may still expect to marry, contrary to older standards, is evidenced in the following. A girl with a past tells her husband, when he discovers it, that if he had known it earlier he would have married her anyhow. He does not deny this. (A. Capus, *La Traversée*,⁴⁰ II, xiv). There is also the case of a girl whose father, thinking she has had a lover, asks the man to whom she is engaged if he is still willing to have her. He says he is. The father thinks this a proof of very great love. It may be worth noting that the young man is not a Frenchman. (C. Méré, *Les Conquérants*,⁴¹ III, iv).

Still another case of a new philosophy on the part of a man toward a woman he desires is seen in the following. A young widow hesitates between two suitors, finally gives herself to one, finds she regrets her choice, and returns to the other. He is ready to take her, for: "Prendre, ce n'est pas tout; il n'y a que garder qui compte." (J. Deval, *Une Faible Femme*,⁴² III, viii).

We find one rather vigorous but revolting picture of a wealthy girl who discovers that the man she loves will not ask her to marry him because he is poor and does not want to be dependent on his wife. In order to win him she tells him she has had a lover and needs his name to give to her expected child. He is ready to marry her (she has led him on to say wild things about being willing to do anything for her), but after the ceremony he shoots himself. (F. de Curel, *La Danse devant le Miroir*⁴³).

A unique notion about divorce is seen in the following: "Une fille pauvre peut avoir le droit de s'enrichir par son mariage;

³⁹ 1921.

⁴⁰ 1920.

⁴¹ 1920.

⁴² 1920.

⁴³ 1914.

par son divorce jamais." (P. Decourcelle et A. Maurel, *La Rue du Sentier*,⁴⁴ IV, i).

There are also a number of unclassified aphorisms on marriage that are of interest.

"Un ménage assorti est un miracle plus grand que celui de la mer rouge." (E. Fleg, *La Maison du Bon Dieu*,⁴⁵ II, iii).

"On peut vivre admirablement sans se comprendre, ça c'est le mariage." (D. Auriel, A. Obey, *La Souriante Madame Beudet*,⁴⁶ II, ix).

"C'est une chose curieuse que vous autres grands hommes, vous n'avez jamais ou rarement, le foyer et la femme que vous méritez. Vous admittez au partage de votre intimité des compagnes qui vous sont nettement inférieures." (H. Bataille, *La Tendresse*,⁴⁷ I, ix).

"Je crois que les femmes sont faites pour être mariées, et que les hommes sont faits pour être célibataires. C'est de là que vient le mal. Les veufs se remarient bien moins que les veuves." (S. Guitry, *Mon Père Avait Raison*,⁴⁸ I).

"Dans chaque ménage presque, l'un des deux a fait un jour une saleté à l'autre et si l'autre l'a oublié il n'arrête pas du moins de se souvenir qu'il l'a oublié." (S. Guitry, *Je t'Aime*,⁴⁹ III).

"Le bonheur le plus probable c'est celui d'être avec l'homme qu'on aime et ce n'est pas prouvé, après tout, que le mariage soit ce qu'on a trouvé de mieux pour ça." (D. Niccodemi, *Les Requins*,⁵⁰ II, i).

It is not strange finding a priest pleading with a wife to pardon a husband who has been remiss. A husband is a master appointed for women by God, and some day the man she wants to leave may need her. (H. Kistermaekers, *La Flambée*,⁵¹ I, xi).

Of divorce one says: "C'est toujours de cette façon qu'une

⁴⁴ 1913.

⁴⁵ 1920.

⁴⁶ 1921.

⁴⁷ 1921.

⁴⁸ 1920.

⁴⁹ 1921.

⁵⁰ 1913.

⁵¹ 1912.

femme change de mari." (S. Guitry, *La Prise de Berg-op-Zoom*,⁵² III, i).

CONCLUSION

The foregoing material is drawn from thirty-seven plays which are the work of twenty-nine writers or sets of collaborators. From it we may safely deduce certain attitudes toward marriage and its various problems, not necessarily as found in actual French life, but as reflecting the stage point of view. In spite of some displacements, caused by the war, and general changes in standards of conduct and in values, marriage is still a serious and necessary institution, carrying binding obligations, and not to be entered upon too lightly. Compatibility of age, fortune, and social position is not often neglected. Young people have more voice in the matter of their marriage than formerly. Love is desirable, but not the dominant factor. It may be expected to follow naturally if other elements are present. A double standard of sex morality is still recognized, but not so rigidly enforced as formerly. There is some slight awareness of the principle of bear and forbear as a means to better mutual understanding. In the eyes of a few, civil marriage is no marriage. Girls should marry young. An unmarried woman is looked upon as not normal. Divorce is an accepted institution except in the minds of those who reject it on religious grounds. It is constantly mentioned as a possibility, and yet there is a steady feeling that after all it is not very respectable and often brings sorrow or a stigma on guiltless parties. It has not accomplished, on or off the stage, what its early advocates claimed for it. The most noteworthy conclusion is that marriage and its problems are out of fashion so far as serious treatment is concerned. Even Brieux and Curot have ceased to carry on their own earlier crusades. Hervieu is dead, and no one seems ready to take his place.

⁵² 1913.

A VADE MECUM OF LIBERAL CULTURE IN A MANUSCRIPT OF FLEURY

By E. K. RAND
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Among the narratives of hairbreadth escapes in the imminent, deadly breach, there are, for those who share Silvestre Bonnard's enthusiasm for mediaeval catalogues, few incidents so exciting as the dispersion of the library of Fleury. That venerable monastery, founded in the early seventh century and known far and wide as the final resting place of the bones of St. Benedict, was among the foremost seats of culture as long as culture was embodied primarily in monasticism. Even after the Renaissance it enjoyed a respectable fame, and nothing disturbed its serenity till the year 1562, when the Protestants sacked its library and scattered its treasures. By various routes the manuscripts of Fleury, sometimes split into fragments, have found their way into libraries as widely separated as those of Orléans, Paris, London, Leyden, Berne, and Rome.¹

It is to one of these much travelled and sorely lacerated books of Fleury that I would invite the reader's attention in this paper, *Codex Leidensis Vossianus Latinus* Q 86. Those who have studied this manuscript are aware that it is not generally considered a book of Fleury. I feel confident enough so to label it, though admitting at the start that the conclusion of the following argument is highly probable rather than absolutely certain.

The *Codex Vossianus* in its present condition is only a torso, but for all that its contents are most varied. It starts off with Arator's epic on the *Acts of the Apostles*; then come the Augustinian epigrams of Prosper; then other Christian poems, including the little epics on Jonah and Sodom, here ascribed to Tertullian; and the two hymns of Sedulius. Now we pass to pagan works, the *Disticha Catonis*, the beast fables of Avianus, selections from the *Anthologia Latina*, selections from Martial. Then another

¹ On the manuscripts of Fleury and allied centres see Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, iii (1920), pp. 12 ff. Traube's notes are here supplemented by Brandt, Lehmann and Weinberger.

Christian epic poet appears, Avitus, and at the end, a part of St. Isidore's chapter 'on grammar from his *Etymologiae*; the excerpts end abruptly—there was plainly more to follow.

The book was written, almost everybody agrees, in the ninth century; I will endeavor in a moment to assign a more precise date. For most of the works that it contains, the manuscript has been utilized and highly estimated by editors. In his edition of Avitus,² Peiper calls it *Avitianorum librorum multo praestantissimus*. Less important, because interpolated, in Peiper's estimation, is the text of the epics on Sodom and Jonah.³ But Lucian Mueller, certainly not inferior to Peiper as a textual critic, thought it the pure and uncontaminated form and a reliable source for filling lacunae in the version that Peiper preferred.⁴ For Avianus, our manuscript is Lachmann's *antiquissimus*, and heads the list of Baehrens's codices.⁵ Nor does Professor Oldfather, who is preparing a new edition of the *Fables*, essentially modify the opinions of his predecessors.⁶ The manuscripts of Martial, according to Lindsay,⁷ descend in three distinct lines from ancient sources, so that, as he puts it, a veritable judgment of Paris is offered the editor; three goddesses are constantly making advances for the prize of his decision. There are human failings in these divinities, as Lindsay has abundantly shown, but whatever be the true history of the text, the value of Class A, to which the *Vossianus* belongs, is incontestable.⁸ In the *Anthologia*

² *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant.*, VI, 2 (1883), p. LXVI. Cf. *Corp. Scrip. Ecc. Lat.* XXIII, p. xix.

³ *Corp. Scrip. Ecc. Lat.*, XIII, p. xix.

⁴ *Rhein. Mus.*, XXII (1867), p. 332.

⁵ *Poet. Lat. Min.*, V, p. 31.

⁶ I am indebted to Professor Oldfather for a letter on this point, and for his photographs of the pages of Avianus in the *Vossianus*.

⁷ "The Ancient Editions of Martial," in *St. Andrews University Publications*, II (1903), and the preface to his edition of Martial in the Oxford Classical Texts.

⁸ Lindsay has proved, I believe, the existence of two ancient editions of Martial's text, the original and an improved form, proceeding from the author himself. Class C, the "vulgate," represents the original form (Ed. I), though it likewise is well sprinkled with interpolated glosses, which, in my estimation, may be mediaeval. Class B is the recension of Gennadius in the fifth century. He has built on C, but has corrected it, though not in all places, with the help of Ed. II. He likewise has added "improvements" of his own. Some of the curious errors of this class may perhaps be due to a still later infusion of glosses. Class A,

Latina its importance is still more striking. The nucleus of the modern editions that bear this title is the famous *Codex Salmasianus*, an uncial book of the seventh or the eighth century, written possibly but not surely in Spain.⁹ Besides this venerable source, there are three principal manuscripts, one closely associated with the *Vossianus*, the other on a different branch from either it or the *Salmasianus*,¹⁰ so that again, it would appear, the editor is confronted by three goddesses; clearly the divinity of our codex is proved. One can see its eminence at a glance by turning to Riese's edition of the *Anthologia Latina* and observing that no less than eighty-eight of the poems¹¹ are found in the *Vossianus* alone.

It is surprising that with such qualities, our manuscript has not been used by the editors of the other works that it contains. Lindsay might well have found no new material here for the text of St. Isidore, whose encyclopaedia is preserved in so many manuscripts much nearer to the source than our codex is.¹² The *Vossianus* is not reckoned among the oldest manuscripts of Arator by his only modern editor,^{12a} and of Prosper there is no modern edition at all. When this work receives its due—and any student of mediaeval letters will admit its value—our Leyden codex should be examined among the first. It is not included, strange to say, in the list of twenty-odd manuscripts of

the "elegant" edition, also represents a basis of Ed. I corrected from Ed. II, and then systematically softened in the interests of propriety. This added "elegance" is, in my opinion, a mediaeval affair. The exact relation of C to A is yet to be determined, but from certain considerations I suspect that they descend from the same original. In that case we have two, not three ancient sources for the text.

⁹ Paris Lat. 10318. See H. Omont, *Anthologie de Poètes Latines dite de Saumaise*, 1903 (facsimile edition), p. 3. Traube (*Vorl. u. Abh.*, iii, p. 51) thought that the manuscript was written in Spain, but Lehmann is not so sure (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1921, c. 323).

¹⁰ Riese, preface to his edition of the *Anth. Lat.*, I (1884, pp. XIII, XXXIII ff.).

¹¹ Nos. 393-480. A few of these poems appear also in other manuscripts, but in almost all cases we may thank the scribe of the *Vossianus* that the verses have not perished altogether.

¹² Professor Beeson (*Isidorstudien*, in Traube's *Quellen u. Untersuchungen*, IV, 2, (1913), p. 86) mentions the *Vossianus* among the manuscripts containing excerpts. He regards its "Schriftheimat" as France and its "Bibliotheksheimat" as Cluny. On the nature of the text of our fragment see below pp. 268 ff.

^{12a} G. L. Perugi, Venice, 1908.

Arator given by Manitius,¹³ though only two of these are ascribed to the ninth century.

We may now approach the question of the date of the *Vossianus* and the history of the volume before it came to the university library at Leyden. The first modern scholar to estimate its date is, so far as I can find, Jacob Geel, who describes the book, according to F. G. Schneidewin¹⁴—and possibly at the latter's request—as *codex membranaceus ineunte potius quam exeunte saec. ix . . . scriptus*. Nor have scholars since Schneidewin's time substantially changed this estimate. Baehrens¹⁵ puts the manuscript "etwa in der Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts;" Riese¹⁶ accepts Schneidewin's dating; Lindsay¹⁷ calls the book "ninth century;" so does Chatelain,¹⁸ and as such it is described—with the approval of De Vries, I take it—in the still unprinted catalogue of the *Codices Vossiani*.¹⁹ The only scholar who, to my knowledge, regards the manuscript as written in the tenth century, is Dr. P. C. Molhuysen.²⁰

As its title indicates, the book came to the Leyden Library from that of the noted scholar Isaac Voss. We will examine later the immediate source whence Voss obtained it, and enquire first where it had been preserved in the middle ages. Ever since Rudolf Peiper²¹ pointed out a certain entry in a mediaeval catalogue of the monastery of Cluny, scholars seem to have agreed that this question has been answered. The catalogue is of the

¹³ *Gesch. der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, 1911, p. 167. Two of the MSS are in Orléans 295 s.X and 80 s.X/XI. It would be interesting to see if their texts are related to one another and to that of the *Vossianus*.

¹⁴ In his edition of Martial (1842), p. 680.

¹⁵ *Rhein. Mus.*, XXXI (1876), pp. 255 ff.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. XXXVII.

¹⁷ *Ancient Editions of Martial*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Paléographie des Class. Lat.*, Pl. 152.

¹⁹ I am indebted to Dr. V. F. Brochner, Keeper of Manuscripts at the University of Leyden Library, for a copy of the account of the manuscript given in this catalogue, and for securing various photographs as indicated below.

²⁰ In a letter to Professor Oldfather. Even Molhuysen puts it at the beginning of the tenth century. Professor Beeson examined the manuscript at Professor Oldfather's request and concluded that it belongs in the ninth century.

²¹ Edition of Avitus, p. LXIII. The catalogue was printed by Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II, pp. 459 ff. The manuscript in question is No. 526 in the collection.

twelfth century, and the contents of one of its manuscripts is thus described:

Volumen in quo continentur Iuuenus, Sedulius, Arator, Prosper, quoddam metrum Tertuliani, Cato, Avianus, quedam diverse collectiones versuum diversorum actorum (*sic*), libri Archini (*sic*) episcopi, ars Isidori de grammatica et de disciplinis aliarum artium.

It is plain that this table of contents corresponds pretty exactly with the works comprised in the *Vossianus*. *Quaedam diversae collectiones versuum diversorum auctorum* is not a scientific title for the excerpts from Martial and the *Anthologia Latina*, but it covers them. Our codex today does not contain at the end any other treatises on the liberal arts besides that of St. Isidore on grammar, nor does it have Juvenius and Sedulius at the beginning. But they might have been there once, as Peiper surmised.²²

Not many months ago, as I was examining the facsimile of the page of Martial reproduced from our codex by Chatelain, the script seemed curiously familiar. I thought I could identify it with a variety that I had come to know when studying the books of Fleury in the Vatican.²³ This variety was in vogue in Fleury, if my estimate is correct, from about the middle of the ninth century down to its last decade or thereabouts. And yet scholars today seem satisfied with Peiper's demonstration that the *Vossianus* is a book of Cluny. But the more I looked at the facsimile, the more I became convinced that the script not only was that of Fleury, but was strongly reminiscent of some particular specimen that I had seen before.

Not many plates away from the facsimile of Martial in Chatelain, is one of a Vatican fragment of Phaedrus.²⁴ It is part of a *Codex Reginensis*, 1616, a volume composed of three manuscripts differing in dates and contents. It is the second of these manuscripts that concerns us, a fragment of four leaves, numbered 17 to 20 in the present collection, these numbers being

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ For an example, see *Vat. Reg.* 95, written at Micy, near Fleury, between 846 and 859; Ehrle and Liebaert, *Spec. Cod. Lat.*, Pl. 30. The books of Micy are listed by Traube, *Hieron. Chron. Cod. Floriano. Frag.* (1902), pp. XII ff.

²⁴ Pl. 165.

added after the three manuscripts were bound up together. Though small, this is a valuable fragment, for it contains perhaps the oldest, and at any rate the best text extant of certain fables of Phaedrus. Fol. 17 starts off with the title

PHEDI AUG. LIBER: I. AESOPHIARV INCIP FELICITER.

This looks as though the prologue to Book I would follow. Instead, we have Fables xi-xiii of Book I, followed immediately, with no suggestion of a lacuna, by Fables xvii-xxi, 1-10. Here the Phaedrus part ends; it covers but three pages, 17, 17^v, and 18; on the remaining pages there are certain later additions of no concern to us just now.²⁵

Our manuscripts of Phaedrus are notoriously scanty, and they obviously do not contain all the fables that Phaedrus put into his five books. There are but two manuscripts of the early middle ages, the *Pithoeanus* and the *Remensis*. The first of these was discovered by Pierre Pithou and is at present possessed by his all too careful descendant, the Marquis of Rosanbo. A so-called palaeographic edition of this codex was published by Ulysse Robert in 1893, but that hardly replaces the original. Postgate, in his edition in the Oxford series, calls the book "saec. ix," but that is only a tentative guess at the date. The *Remensis*, very close to the *Pithoeanus* in text and very possibly in date, was burned in the eighteenth century; we know it only from the citations of the earlier editors. The source followed by Perotti, who undoubtedly brought new fables to light, does not concern us here, as the manuscripts of that recension do not contain the text that is preserved in the *Reginensis* (=D). Now it is obvious even in this scant portion that D is superior to P and R. It has certain careless errors and shows the presence of the interpolated gloss, but the latter failing is far more apparent in PR^{25a}. The evidence of these pages in D makes it plain

²⁵ On the back of fol. 18 there are verses with neums in a hand later than the ninth century. For a facsimile see H. M. Bannister, *Paleografia Musicale Vaticana* (1914), Tav. 11b.

^{25a} Let us take the readings in just one fable, No. xi. D omits v. 1. Doubtless the title and the first line of the original had been left for an expert to fill in with a special script, but only the title had been added. Note that in D the original scribe puts in some of the titles in the margin as guides for the writer who was to supply them.

that in other parts of Phaedrus where we have only P and R, the divining art of conjectural emendation is not only admissible but absolutely indispensable. Moreover, the disposition of the text in D, with two substantially equal sections and a gap between them, may suggest that this gap was caused by the scribe's skipping a page or a leaf of the original. Inasmuch as the

2 *derisui*] D has *deri sai* (it seems to me) corrected by a perhaps modern hand. The original of D may have used the open *a*.

5 D inserts *ille*, perhaps correctly. 6 *ut* is a gloss in PR. *auritulus*] Rigault. *Auriculus* (D) is at least nearer than *auriculas* (PR), which looks like an emendation. 7 *Subito*] *subitum* D, which may well be right. It was accepted by Faber, 1712. *totis tollit*] D *tollit totis* PR. 10 *adfiguntur*] D *adficiuntur* PR. 11 *est om.* PR. 13 *uidetur opera tibi*] D *tibi uid. op.* P. 15 *fugissem metu*] D *fuissem in metu* PR.

Here in one fable D shows PR in error in six cases, and though itself wrong in one (v. 6), it there is nearer to the right than PR are. It is not perfect, as it omits v. 1 and perhaps interpolates a gloss (v.5).

The most serious, and the most interesting interpolation in D is in xiii 12. Instead of the unusual phrase *ingemuist corui deceptus stupor*, D has *ingemuist coruus cur dolosis Fuisset deceptus fraudibus ut ignauus*. This is clearly connected with the prose version ("Phaedrus solutus") of Ademar (c. 1025), *coruus ingemuist quia dolo esset deceptus ut ignarus*.

The clue to the vexed question of the version of Aesop's tales that went under the name of Romulus has at last been given by G. Thiele (*Der Lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phaedrus*, 1910), whose results have not been quite appreciated by Postgate. "Romulus" used Phaedrus directly, but other sources too, in particular a Latin prose version of Aesop. Ademar's text is a conflation of Romulus with a different version, a pretty close rendering of Phaedrus into prose ("Phaedrus solutus"). Thiele (p. LXXXI) inclines to the view that Ademar did not prepare this version himself but made selections from a complete prose "resolution" of Phaedrus. To the arguments that he adduces should be added the evidence of our present passage. It looks as if the original of D had the prose version in the margins, much in the fashion of the Delphin editions, and that parts of it, as here, crept into the text. It is as early, at least, as the ninth century and may well have been composed in that period. Something of a history lies behind the text of D. *Ignauus* is an error for *ignarus*, *cur* for either *quia* or *cum*, and part of the gloss (*Fuisset —ignauus*) has been arranged in a line. *Fuisset deceptus* is not so good Latin as *esset deceptus* in Ademar. One might infer either that an ancient version had been corrupted in the ninth century by the original of D, though retained in the version that reached Ademar, or that an early mediaeval version was corrected by Ademar, in whose times an improvement of this sort was clearly possible. Another trace of the same version appears in v. 9 f.: *dum etiam uocem uult ostendere / emisit ore caseum*. This reading of P is found in old-fashioned editions and should still be accepted. D has *latiorem emisit ore caseum*, which prompts Havet, followed by Postgate, to read *lato ore emisit caseum*. A glance at Ademar shows the true condition of affairs: *ille dum uult ostendere uocem latiore, emisit caseum* (Thiele p. 61). The reading of D, *latiorem emisit ore caseum* is due to the interpolation of *latiorem*, which Thiele saw is meant to interpret *uocem*. Havet should have left it alone.

omitted fables take up seven or eight lines less space than either the preceding or the following section, the omitted page or leaf of the original might have contained more—one short fable more—and the whole manuscript a good deal more than is preserved to us today. For a reason that will later appear,²⁶ I am not going to yield to the lure that such a situation offers. In the matter of Phaedrus, it has led Havet to elaborate theories by no means universally approved,²⁷ and in general has probably wasted more of the palaeographer's private hours than any other pleasant illusion.

It is the Vatican Phaedrus that came to my mind as I was looking at Chatelain's facsimile of the Leyden codex. A glance at the two plates will convince the reader, I am sure, that these scripts are very similar. They are not the work of the same scribe, but are at least, I believe, the product of the same scriptorium, and belong to the same period in its development. In fact, the two manuscripts may well have once formed part of the same book. The size of the pages and that of the space occupied by the script are approximately the same. Certain palaeographical differences exist, but before trying to account for them, I will make the assumption which the similarities suggest and see to what it leads.

First, then, if this assumption is sound, the Leyden manuscript is surely a book of Fleury, not merely because the script seems characteristic of the work of that monastery, but because the Vatican fragment is unmistakably labelled a *codex Floriacensis*. On the verso of its last leaf—fol. 20 in the conglomerate volume of which it now forms a part—we find this note:

Hic est liber sancti floriacensis quem si quis furatus fuerit uel aliquid ingenio tulerit, anathema sit.

This is a shorter form of the standard Benedictine curse, found in many of the books of Fleury.^{27a}

It will follow also that if the notice in the old catalogue of Cluny really applies to our book, the latter could not have been

²⁶ See below, note 45.

²⁷ See his edition of Phaedrus (1895), pp. 225 ff; Postgate, preface to his edition, p. xi; Schanz, *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.*, II, 2 (1913), p. 42.

^{27a} See Traube, *Hieronymi Chronicorum Co. Floriac.*, Leyden, 1902, p. xvi; A. Taylor, *The Judas Curse*, in *American Jour. Phil.*, XLII (1921), p. 248. See *Addendum*, p. 277.

written in that monastery, but was presented to it, at some time after the year 910, when Cluny was founded. However, if a book so emphatically dedicated to St. Benedict of Fleury was later given to Cluny, it would seem as if the original library-mark, with its appended curse, would have been replaced by one that designated its new abode. Whether or not I am right in attaching the Vatican fragment to the *Vossianus*, the script of the latter book, as we have seen,²⁸ is well-nigh universally assigned to a period preceding the foundation of Cluny; it must, therefore, have come to that monastery from elsewhere. It is more probable, however, that there were two books, twin books, copied from the same original, and owned one by Fleury, or by some monastery in which a close approximation to the script of Fleury was cultivated, and one by Cluny; we shall later note certain significant differences in detail between the Cluny book as described in the mediaeval catalogue, and the *Vossianus*.

But now let us follow the clue which Peiper discovered, and see if we can reckon, with its help, all that the Leyden volume originally contained. Having just protested against this sort of speculation, I will now surrender to its enticements. We will not begin with the end of the volume, for there is no indication in the manuscript itself as to how far it ran on. But luckily we know—and for this information I am indebted to Dr. Brochner, —how many pages there were originally in the first part of the manuscript. The book as we have it today consists of quinions, gatherings of ten leaves apiece, two of which, the 26th and the last, i.e. the 31st, are signed. There are just 150 leaves in the book and just fifteen gatherings, but the binding, for all that, is not quite regular.²⁹ But we can be sure that just sixteen quinions had preceded, and as the last leaf of Quinion XVI is now a part of the seventeenth quinion with which the torso starts, we see that just 159 leaves have been lost at the beginning.

Juvenus and Sedulius were the first two authors in the manuscript of Cluny which Peiper wished to identify with the *Vossianus*. Before we try to calculate whether the works of these authors could be slipped in at the beginning of our present

²⁸ See above p. 261.

²⁹ The details will appear in the catalogue of the *Codices Vossiani*, from which Dr. Brochner quotes.

book, I must point out certain features of its script. This I have been able to study not only in the facsimile of Chatelain's, but in sixteen photographs of different parts of the book, including a page from every quinion, and photographs of the ten pages of the text of Avianus; for the privilege of examining these last, I would express my obligations to Professor Oldfather. This is an unsatisfactory amount of material; in a delicate affair of this kind, one should study every page of the book itself. But I can at least venture a preliminary estimate. The hand of the Martial, as we saw, was not that of the Vatican Phaedrus. But neither is it that employed in the Arator at the beginning of the torso or that of the Isidore at the end. Further examination of the book may well disclose more hands than those that I mention—in fact I think I can already see more than these—but for the moment I will content myself with the statement that there are at least three kinds of workmanship in this book. There is first that of the Arator, which is written in a fairly large and leisurely hand, with sixteen lines on a page. Then there is the part to which the Avianus and the Martial belong; here the script is distinctly smaller, and there are two columns and thirty-two lines on the page. The sumptuous style with which the present volume opens has been abandoned; the scribe is seeking to economize space in every possible fashion.³⁰ In the third part, the excerpts from St. Isidore's *Grammatica*, the script is still small, though the hand has changed, but the page has only one column and thirty instead of thirty-two lines.

Now if we may suppose that the style employed in the parts preceding the Arator had the same ample and flowing character and occupied the same number of lines on the page, the poems of Juvenecus and the *Paschale Carmen* of Sedulius will almost exactly fit the 159 missing pages. There is no room for the *Paschale Opus* of the latter author; this work was deservedly less popular in the middle ages than the poem.³¹ Nor is there

³⁰ According to Lindsay (*Ancient Editions of Martial*, p. 11), the archetype of the three MSS of Class A had two columns and 18 lines on a page. Perhaps, then, the scribe of the Vossianus had no special desire to save space, but was merely following the style of his original.

³¹ Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgesch.*, IV, 2 (1920), p. 374.

a place for the Vatican fragment of Phaedrus in this part of the book.³²

So now let us look at the end of the manuscript. It would seem well-nigh hopeless to calculate just how much was lost here. Page one of the volume is its *terminus post quem*, but what *terminus ante quem* can we set up for its ending? We have already 31 quinions, 300 pages, of what today would be called small octavo size. We can at least say that not many more quinions could be added to a book of these dimensions if it were to remain a book. But further, we again may follow the guidance of the catalogue of Cluny, which names the excerpts from St. Isidore as the closing work in the volume. However, the title seems more vague and inclusive than that—*ars isidori de grammatica et de disciplinis aliarum artium*. For all that, I believe that we can prophesy pretty exactly what this closing section contained.

Hermann Hagen published in his *Anecdota Helvetica*, as long ago as 1870, a careful description of an interesting manuscript of Berne (207), which contains a *Corpus Grammaticorum Latinorum*. The mediaeval Keil who compiled this useful work—

³² There are 318 pages of 16 lines each, making 5088 lines in all. Juvenecus, including the brief summary and the preface, and allowing say seven lines for titles and colophons of the different books, would occupy 3223 lines. The *Paschale Carmen* of Sedulius, including the preface and a small allowance for titles and colophons, would require 1779 lines. That makes a total of some 4993, somewhat under the 5088 at our disposal. But there are two other bits of the text of Sedulius to account for. One is a list of *Capitula* which occupies 222 lines in Huemer's edition, and the other is the introductory letter to Macedonius. The *Capitula*, I infer from Huemer (p. 147), are mutilated or lacking in some of the chief MSS, and it is therefore not safe to assume that they occurred whether in whole or in part in the *Vossianus*. But the letter to Macedonius could hardly have failed. It is harder to calculate what space a prose work would have taken than one of poetry. There are 140 lines in Huemer's edition and there remain some 95 lines in the MS. The length of line in the edition and that in the MS, as a rather careful test showed, are approximately equal. To fit the letter to the available pages of the MS, we should have to suppose that it was not written quite so sumptuously as the poetry—as might well have been the case; there might have been more lines on the page. If double the number was ruled, as later in the MS, there would be plenty of room for the letter and for some of the *Capitula* too. An exact estimate is of course impossible, but we can at least say that the works of Juvenecus and Sedulius which stood first in the book of Cluny, could have been accommodated in the lost quinions of the *Vossianus*.

nimio sudore, he tells us—has assembled the treatises of Donatus, Asper, Priscian, Servius, Probus, Isidore, Bede and others. From Isidore he has an elaborate series of excerpts put together with a purpose. The compiler begins with I, 5 of the *Etymologiae*, runs on to chapter 13, then goes back to the beginning, I, 1, including from there to I, 5, with which he started, then on to 14, then 15 (in the form in which Arevalo, not Lindsay gives it), and then with various omissions and transpositions, to the end of Book I. Book II, *De Rhetorica et Dialectica*, is treated in the same way, and a small section, *De Generibus Opusculorum*, is tucked in from Book VI; this gives definitions of words like *scholia*, *homiliae*, *tomi*, *apologeticum*, *panegyricum*. After sufficient excerpts *de Dialectica*, we have a short one *de Mathematica*, and a long one *de Astronomia*, the compilation coming to a close with the end of Book III. Clearly the Cluny title, *de grammatica et de disciplinis aliarum artium* (the librarian does not say *ceterarum artium*) covers the Berne extracts from Isidore completely. With my photographs of the page containing the beginning of the Leyden extracts and of the two pages at the end of the manuscript, I have enough to show that the two compilations are identical. That in the Leyden codex begins, like the other, with I, 5, runs to 13, then jumps back to I, 1, goes on to I, 5, skips to 14, with 15 as in Arevalo's, not Lindsay's text, then to 16, stopping in section 20 of that chapter with the words *excedere nomen*.

We are thus justified, I believe, in identifying the Leyden excerpts with those in the *Bernensis*, and prophesying how much farther our scribes wrote. An approximate calculation on the basis of Lindsay's text, which is more measurable than Arevalo's, gives us just about two quinions more, or surely not more than two quinions and a half.²³

It is now of some moment to note that the Berne manuscript came from Fleury. It is written not in the script of that monastery, but in an insular hand of the ninth century; it is thus symbolic of the interest in grammar exhibited by Irish scholars in the early middle ages—it is Irish rather than English

²³ I am not reckoning in a few miscellaneous notes, some in later hands, at the end of the volume—a *tabula calculatoria* on the courses of the moon, etc.

and contains Irish glosses. Whether there were Irish scribes in Fleury, as there apparently were at Tours before the coming of Alcuin, or whether the Berne *Corpus Grammaticorum* was compiled elsewhere and presented to Fleury, it may well have served as the original from which the *Vossianus* was copied; a comparison of the two texts ought to settle this point. Lindsay had previously assigned the *Bernensis* to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century,³⁴ but he now states, in a letter, that it could have been written in the middle of the ninth; the latter is also Professor Beeson's opinion.³⁵ This comports well with the date that I have assigned to the *Vossianus*, some time between about the middle of the century and about 890 A. D. The *Bernensis* thus becomes an important link in the chain of evidence that connects our book with Fleury, especially as the compilation from St. Isidore contained in both is apparently very rare; Professor Beeson did not find it, he tells me, outside the *Bernensis*.

But where does the Phaedrus come in? There is no place for it in the manuscript as thus reconstructed except at the end. And that is just where we should expect to find it. The Vatican fragment presumably stood at the end of some volume, as we see from the later additions on the last two leaves, and the fact that the library mark is written, in a ninth century hand, on the verso of the leaf with which the Phaedrus ends. The leaves of the Vatican fragment make up a binion. What happened, I imagine, was this. When the scribe who wrote the last part of the Isidore had finished a goodly portion of that text, he calculated that he had enough left to fill the last quinion and a bit more. He accordingly ruled this binion. As he proceeded, however, he found that he could get all of the Isidore into the last quinion. Then, wishing to utilize the parchment remaining, he planned a little series of extracts from Phaedrus, an appropriate companion for Avianus, which were to be added either by himself or by a fellow-scribe; they begin and end abruptly and cover only three pages.

³⁴ *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, (1910), p. 64.

³⁵ Kindly sent me in a recent letter. Lindsay states that the MS contains interesting and unusual features that deserve special study. Perhaps a comparison of the insular notes in Cambrai 938 (from Fleury) might be worth while.

The palaeographical differences between the page of Martial and the page of Phaedrus reproduced in Chatelain present no obstacle to our hypothesis when we become aware of the character of the whole volume. The hands are different, but the script is, in my judgment, of the same school. There are at least three hands, as we have seen, in the extant part of the book. Why could not another of the same variety as that of the Phaedrus come in at the end? The script-space in the two pages is not quite the same, but that varies in the volume according to the purpose of the scribe as determined by the nature of the work that he was copying.³⁶ Two columns are used for Martial and only one for Phaedrus; but only one was used for the Arator and only one for the Isidore, which, by my supposition, had just preceded. Finally, as to the number of the lines on the page, thirty-two in the Martial and only thirty in the Phaedrus, we find that in the first part of the book, sixteen were used, then thirty-two, and finally in the Isidore, thirty; the writer of the Phaedrus, therefore, agrees with the immediately preceding style in two respects, possibly because the binion had already been ruled; he used thirty lines and he wrote in one column. The most marked difference is in the width of the script-space. The height is the same—a most important criterion—but the width is narrower; this, however, is an obvious result of writing the comparatively short lines of Phaedrus in one column. Finally, I would call attention to an error of spelling that may have some significance. The *Reginensis*³⁷ has PHEDI for PHAEDRI. Similarly in the *Vossianus* (fol. 86v), in the introductory letter of Avianus, the poet is called *Phoedus*.

We must now reckon with the fact that no mention is made of the extracts from Phaedrus (or Phedus) in the table of contents of the Cluny book. Supposing—as I am inclined not to suppose—that this manuscript and the *Vossianus* are identical, we may perhaps say that the designation *quaedam diversae col-*

³⁶ I have examined this matter with considerable care in the photographs accessible to me and am sure of the truth of the above statement. I will not, however, present the measurements here, for they should be made directly from the manuscript itself. But relative values may be determined from the photographs, whether these are, as intended, of exactly the same size as the originals or not.

³⁷ See above p. 263.

lectiones versuum diversorum auctorum, which sufficed for Martial and the *Anthologia Latina*, included the bit of Phaedrus too, or else that the small fragment at the end did not seem to call for mention. I believe, however, that we are concerned with two different copies of the same original, so that we should expect certain divergencies. One important difference is indicated in the title given in the Cluny catalogue for Avitus; it is *libri archini episcopi*. Now there is no excuse for such an error if the mediaeval librarian copied this title from the present *Vossianus*; this reads with absolute clearness (fol. 116): INCIPIT PROLOGVS ALCHIMI EPISCOPI, etc.³⁸ It is more probable, therefore, that the cataloguer had before him another book in which the author's name was less neatly written. This book would not contain the fragment of Phaedrus, which by my hypothesis was not in the common original of the Cluny manuscript and the *Vossianus*, but was appended by the final scribe of the latter book in the manner explained above.

The foregoing considerations, I admit, have not surely demonstrated that the Vatican fragment once stood at the end of the *Vossianus*, but they at least render the supposition highly plausible. I am willing to present it in this tentative form as a stimulus to further investigation. The case would be much stronger if the hand of the Phaedrus fragment could be identified with one of those in the Leyden book; thus far my miscellaneous fishings from afar have not caught the desired prey; perhaps an examination of the manuscript itself would yield the necessary evidence. At all events, I would centre the reader's attention not on this detail, however interesting, but on the Leyden manuscript itself, which from its script I feel confident is a book of Fleury, or at least of some French monastery that before the close of the ninth century had produced a very careful imitation of the Fleury style.³⁹ I will gladly modify the

³⁸ There is no variation of the spelling ALCHIMI in any of the subscriptions of the books of the poem in the *apparatus criticus* of Peiper's edition.

³⁹ The schools of Beauvais and of St. Martial of Limoges deserve study in this connection. From the former monastery comes one of the chief manuscripts of Pliny's *Letters*, Medic. Laur. Ashb. 98, which shows Fleury traits; for facsimiles see Chatelain, Pl. CXLIII, and Lowe and Rand, *A Sixth-century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger*, Plates XIII-XIV. An ancient book of the latter monastery is Paris 1154, *saec.* IX, with its interest-

title of this paper should further discoveries require; meanwhile it represents the nearest approach to truth that I can see. But waiving these uncertainties, we can be sure, in a general way, of the history of the volume. Whether in Fleury or Cluny or possibly elsewhere, it lay undisturbed for over six hundred years, until the Protestant iconoclasm of the sixteenth century, when both Fleury and Cluny and other monasteries were rifled of many of their treasures, which passed into other owners' hands. It was at this time that Paul Petau, an enthusiastic antiquarian, secured possession of the manuscript, doubtless from Pierre Daniel, in case the book, as I am assuming, came from Fleury. Isaac Voss saw it in Petau's library in Paris,⁴⁰ and acquired it with other manuscripts that he was collecting for Queen Christina and for himself. To the Queen he turned over a modest part, the tail-end; the lion's share he kept for himself.⁴¹ His portion came to the University of Leyden with the rest of the books that bear his name. The tiny fragment given to Queen Christina was bound up with the two other fragments, I know not when or where, in a volume that for some three hundred years has lain in the library of the Popes of Rome. What became of the Juvenecus and the Sedulius at the beginning or the part of the Isidore at the end we should much like to know. Perhaps some *scopritor felice* will come across them yet in Leyden or Paris or Rome.

I turn with some relief, in conclusion, from a tissue of probabilities to a solid foundation of fact. For this we may dis-

ing collection of poetical extracts set to music. See *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, Pl. II; III, Pl. IV; and Coussemaker, *Hist. de l'Harmonie au Moyen Age*, Pl. I-V.

⁴⁰ Schneidewin in his edition of Martial, 1842, p. LXXXVIII (cf. also p. 680), quotes from a letter of Voss to Heinsius as follows: *Excerpta Martialis, quae extant in illo optimo cod. Thuanico, satis diligenter examinavi, ubi et cod. epigr. satis vetustum, in quo itidem eius auctoris epigrammata aliquot habebantur, qui extabat in Bibliotheca Petavii Senatoris*. This latter volume is taken by Schneidewin rightly, I believe, to be our *Vossianus*. Riese (ed. *Anth. Lat.*, I, p. XXXVII) declares Schneidewin in error but gives no reasons for this opinion.

⁴¹ That is, in case Voss dismembered the volume himself. All of the mutilated *libri Vossiani* should be studied together, such as *Paris*. 8093 + *Voss. Lat.* 111, Ausonius etc. (see S. Tafel in *Rhein. Mus.*, LXIX (1914), pp. 630 ff.); *Aurel.* 192 (169) + *Voss. Lat.* 88A, Rufinus (Chatelain, *Unialis Script.*, Tab. LXXX); and the Paris, Rome and Leyden fragments of St. Jerome's *Chronicle* published by Traube, *op. cit.*

cover if we consider the character of the works collected in the Leyden volume and those mentioned in the catalogue of Cluny. Such a collection constitutes what I have called a *Vade Mecum* of liberal culture. The guiding principles are laid down in the excerpts from Isidore at the end of the volume. Here we have a brief treatment of all the seven liberal arts, with special attention, as always in a humanistic programme, to *grammatica*. It is sometimes stated that the middle ages had no interest in the natural sciences, and that philosophy in that period meant the application of formal logic to mendacious assumptions. Critics who make such statements had better read St. Isidore. In fact, one of the most useful rules that I know for guiding the investigator in mediaeval fields is to inquire first, "What does St. Isidore say about it?" It will really save one time to begin by looking him up. The mediaeval reader, looking up what is said in the *Etymologiae* about philosophy, found a definition as broad as that of Cicero's, not restricted to dialectics, but imposed upon it;⁴² physical science is likewise part of the scheme.⁴³ The compiler whose work is preserved in the *Bernensis* and the *Vossianus* lays his foundation with these general definitions. He then describes the subjects of the Trivium and Quadrivium, and illustrates them more copiously by extracts from the later books, that on Astronomy being especially generous. These selections, then, have a purpose; that is their great interest to us. One sometimes hears that the monks copied manuscripts chiefly to employ their idle hands, an appreciation of the text that they copied being outside the range of their faculties. But here is a work that clearly reflects a mediaeval purpose—the purpose of preparing a brief and serviceable introduction, an εἰσαγωγή to liberal culture.

This purpose is still more plainly seen if we consider the remaining pieces in the manuscript. Here is a little five-foot shelf, or a half-foot shelf, intended primarily to accompany the

⁴² *Dialectica* is treated in II, xxii, and *Philosophia* in xxiv. Philosophy is defined as *rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio cum studio bene vivendi coniuncta*. This definition is apparently abbreviated from Cicero's own words, *De Or.* I, 49, 212: *Philosophi denique ipsius—tamen quaedam descriptio, ut is, qui studeat omnium rerum divinarum atque humanarum vim naturam causasque nosse et omnem bene vivendi rationem tenere et persequi, nomine hoc appelletur.*

⁴³ II, xxiv, 3.

study of *grammatica*. It also serves to illustrate the harmonious adjustment that had been in practice ever since the fourth century between Christian faith and pagan culture. Christian epic heads the list, represented by those ancient Miltons—Juvenecus, Sedulius, Avitus, Arator, and whoever chose Jonah and Sodom as themes for Virgilian adornment. In subject matter, these authors present the reader with typical scenes from the Old Testament, the Gospels, the early history of the Church; in them he can ponder on the allegory behind the fact, and on the high mysteries of Catholic dogma. Christian lyric is illustrated by the hymns of Sedulius, and Christian philosophical poetry by Prosper's Augustinian epigrams. Ethical training is furnished by a pagan work, the *Disticha Catonis*.⁴⁴ There is ethical value, and other value, in the beast-fables of Avianus; this is also the purpose of the selections from Phaedrus, if we may count them a part of the book.⁴⁵ Then, after this substantial repast, we have something pleasant to top off with, in the light verse, very light indeed in some of the selections, of Martial and the *Anthologia Latina*. Roger, in his clear and comprehensive, but to my mind ultimately misleading work on classical culture in the early middle ages, remarks that the monks read for edification, whether moral or grammatical, but not for enjoyment.⁴⁶ Really, that sort of utterance does not call for refutation; if it did, one could find an answer in this book of Fleury. I can conceive that a scribe should copy off an entire text of Martial for the purpose of exercising his hands or training his soul to patience. I can even imagine, though it is a strain on the imagination, that Martial's work was copied as a *corpus vile* for the *grammaticus*. But to say that certain epigrams which I might mention, but out of consideration for my

⁴⁴ Recently edited, with introduction and a translation (the distichs done into neat rhyming couplets) by W. J. Chase, *University of Wisconsin Studies in Soc. Sci. and Hist.*, No. 7, 1922.

⁴⁵ Since it is purpose and not chance that determines the contents of this fragment, it were unprofitable to calculate from the gap in its text what its original may have contained. See above, pp. 265 ff.

⁴⁶ *L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (1905), p. 189: On lirait les anciens . . . mais comme un moyen . . . Une fois en possession du gain qu'on en pouvait tirer, on les oublierait. On devait se mettre en état de comprendre et de goûter Virgile, et, une fois arrivé là, se bien garder d'y prendre plaisir."

readers will not mention, owe their place in a *selection* to their value for purposes of edification is to insult the intelligence of anybody who has read those epigrams. But this dangerous matter is safeguarded. For those who heeded Martial's warning to read no farther in his little book, there were the indubitably safe epigrams of Prosper.

This volume, therefore, compiled with a purpose about the middle of the ninth century, or copied from an earlier compilation, contains matters for edifying the soul, sharpening the intellect, delighting the fancy, and arousing the sense of humor. It exhibits principles and the illustration of them. Other manuals would of course be necessary—and the middle ages had them—for the exact study of the several arts. This collection is devoted especially to *grammatica*, that is, literature, but it presents that art as indissolubly connected with all the others. It is a useful chrestomathy and a compendium of liberal culture.

Nor is it the only specimen of its kind. Similar collections, similar and yet interestingly diverse, may be found by the scores, possibly by the hundreds, in mediaeval manuscripts which exist today or which may still be traced in mediaeval catalogues. A most fascinating study lies open to any one who will take it up. Traube, it is hardly necessary to say, recognized its importance, and had encouraged one of his pupils to undertake it, as have Vollmer, his colleague, and Lehmann, his successor; as yet, however, no comprehensive treatment has appeared.⁴⁷ We have been too much interested in the different texts that such a manuscript as the *Vossianus* contains to consider the meaning of their appearance in common. Thus editors have gone to this codex for Avitus or Martial or the *Anthologia Latina*, but have paid little attention to what the manuscript has outside their particular authors. We need, too, renewed investigation, already most profitably begun, of the different schools of script; for this is an indispensable clue to the monastic centres in which the *florilegia* were made. If the Leyden collection was copied at Fleury, was it put together there? Or at Tours? Or at

⁴⁷ I am glad to announce that Miss Eva Matthews Sanford, a graduate student of Radcliffe College, will treat certain aspects of this subject in a dissertation for the doctorate and that F. M. Carey of the Harvard Graduate School will discuss in his dissertation the script of Fleury.

Corbie!⁴⁸ Perhaps some of these trails may lead us back to Ireland and help us better to understand the conditions of culture there in the period preceding the Carolingian Renaissance. Perhaps some of the collections descended from antiquity. Some certainly were not put together until the eighth or the ninth century, for they contain along with pagan and ancient Christian verse, some of the best things that the then moderns had done—the “free verse” of the day. The study that I have indicated, and only partly indicated, is brimful of suggestion. Not until it has been carried to the end shall we have a clear picture of the humanistic culture under Charlemagne or be able to follow its course in the subsequent centuries of the middle ages.

⁴⁸ The *Vossianus* and the two other manuscripts of Martial and the *Anthologia Latina* that make up Lindsay's Class A (*Vind.* 277 and *Par.* 8071) offer material for an investigation like that made by Traube in a simpler case, the tradition of St. Jerome's *Chronica*. An ancient MS of that work, of which fragments exist today in Paris, Leyden and Rome, once belonged to Fleury. Two copies were made in the ninth century, one at Tours and one at Micy, from which Traube reconstructed certain features of the original; see his edition of the fragments, pp. iii ff. What was the character and what the provenience of the original *florilegium* from which the *Vossianus*, the *Vindobonensis* and the *Parisi-nus* (*Thuaneus*) derive is one of the many matters awaiting investigation.

^{27a} ADDENDUM. The earliest appearance of this curse known to me is in B. M., Egerton 2831, a book of Tours, written there, I believe, not later than c. 770, at any rate before the abbacy of Alcuin, in which (c. 800) the editors of the *New Palaeographical Society* (Plates 107, 108) put it. Lindsay agrees on an earlier date, even as early as 750. A book which seems to me of exactly the same period (though here Lindsay does not agree), is *Laur. Med.* XLV, 15, Donatus on the *Aeneid*. In both MSS two styles, insular and continental, are employed, and the insular hand shown in Vitelli and Paoli, *Collezione Fiorentina*, etc. (*Tav.* 37, 38) seems almost identical with that in the Egerton MS.

The Benedictine curse appears in the Egerton MS. on f. 1 in a Merovingian hand: *hic habet libru(m) s(anc)t(i) martini turonensem (sic) de coemubio ibique (!) quiescite (!) . . . d de illo armario et qui me furaverit uel hoc folium inciserit. . .* Note the form *furaverit*, for which later more elegantly *furatus fuerit* was substituted. The appearance of *furaverit* is *ceteris paribus* an indication of an early date. It is found, with *furatus fuerit* by a later hand, in the note by Berno in the Tours Virgil (*Bernensis* 165), which I would date not later than 820, as the name of Berno is not in the St. Gall list (see *Memoirs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*, I (1917), p. 25). At the same time, as Lindsay informs me that the abbreviations τ^2 for *tur* and τ' for *tus* occur in the MS. it could not have been much earlier than 820; a complete history of these two abbreviations is greatly needed, and so is a collection of the instances of *furaverit* and *furatus fuerit*; the latter form seems established by the middle of the ninth century.

Aliquid ingenio in Reg. 1616 for *aliquo ingenio*, found in several of Traube's MSS., is not a mistake but an intentional variation of the phrase.

FIELDING AND THE CIBBERS

By CHARLES W. NICHOLS
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The minor works of any great writer are interesting, either for themselves, or for the light which they throw on the life and genius of their author, but the four satirical plays produced by Henry Fielding at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket in 1736 and 1737 have an additional value because they reflect through their satire the life of the early eighteenth century, and show what the men and women of the time were doing, what they were talking and laughing about in London when Robert Walpole was prime minister, Farinelli the reigning operatic favorite, and Colley Cibber the writer of the laureate odes. Of these four plays, the two which concern us here are *Pasquin*, a "Dramatick Satire on the Times," and the less known *Historical Register for the Year 1736*, which is a theatrical review of political, social, and literary happenings: political affairs in Europe and political corruption at home; the social foibles of the year in London, including the fad for the Italian male soprano, Farinelli, and the fad for waxworks and auctions; the acting of Theophilus Cibber, and the controversy between his wife and Kitty Clive over the part of Polly in *The Beggar's Opera*; the annual odes of Colley Cibber, and his adaptation of Shakespeare's *King John*. This play might well be called, in more modern theatrical parlance, *The Follies of 1736*.

It is easy to prove by means of the newspapers and periodicals of the time, that Fielding, in all this satire, was exceedingly timely, and that in most cases (certainly in all theatrical and literary cases except the satire against pantomime, in which he ran counter to the public taste) he was dealing with standing jokes of the day, and was therefore sure of the response of laughter from his audiences. In no cases are these facts more certain than in the cases of Theophilus Cibber, and his father Colley, who were the targets of many satirists in Fielding's time. "I and my Father," Theophilus is made to say in the anonymous

Apology for his life, "had as much laughing at as any two Persons in the Kingdom."

Raillery pointed at Theophilus under the name "Pistol" was one of the well known jokes of the day, the name being given him because of his frequent and extravagant acting of that part. "Though Theophilus Cibber had some degree of merit in a variety of characters," says Davies, his contemporary (*Life of Garrick*, volume I, page 35), "and especially in brisk coxcombs; and more particularly in parts of extravagant humour, such as Pistol in Shakespeare's *Henry the Fourth*; yet he generally mixed so much of false spirit and grimace in his acting, that . . . he often disgusted the judicious spectator." When Fielding, therefore, in the bombastic Pistol scene at the end of the second act of *The Historical Register*, has the Muse "rise in her Stile," as Mr. Medley, the supposed author of the play phrases it, and give the audience a "Taste of the Sublime," he is merely burlesquing Cibber's well known methods of acting. "I warrant we don't over-act him," said Medley, "half so much as he does his Parts." This little scene through which Pistol struts may have been suggested to Fielding by *The Stage-Mutineers*, an anonymous play produced in 1733. I have discussed this play elsewhere, and have given evidence which points to Edward Phillips as the author of it. Pistol is the hero of the play, and the manner in which the burlesque was received, as narrated in the anonymous *Serio-Comic Apology for the Life of Mr. Theophilus Cibber, Comedian*, shows that jokes on Pistol were popular, and that Fielding was therefore likely to be sure of an instant response from his audience when his own Pistol strutted upon the stage.

Pistol, in the speech which Fielding puts into his mouth, pleads with the town to side with his wife in the contention between Mrs. Clive and Mrs. Cibber for the part of Polly Peachum in *The Beggar's Opera* at Drury Lane. Here Fielding was making use of exceedingly timely material. Mrs. Clive had refused to give up the part to Mrs. Cibber, who desired to play it, and both appealed to the town. Toward the end of 1736 the papers were full of the controversy. Woodward wrote a farce on the subject entitled *The Beggar's Pantomime, or The Contending Columbines*, which was brought out January 3, 1737, at

Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and the dedication to Mrs. Clive and Mrs. Cibber speaks of their "Paper War" as making a bustle about the town, and being the public talk of the coffee-houses. When on March 21, therefore, Fielding made Theophilus grandiloquently exclaim:

Behold how humbly the Great Pistol kneels,
Say then, Oh Town, is it your Royal Will,
That my great Consort represent the Part
Of *Polly Peachum* in the *Beggar's Opera*,

he must have delighted the town with the hiss of the mob in answer to Pistol's plea, and with Pistol's reply, "Thanks to the Town, that Hiss speaks their Assent." As Theophilus is made to say in the *Apology*, "The Contentions for the Part of *Polly* between Mrs. Clive and my late . . . I was going to say Wife; . . . but a late *Woman* who was call'd by my Name: That Contest, I remark, furnish'd a copious Topic for Conversation, Argument, and Publication, and ended with Noise and Uproars in the Play-house." "I think the Town has honour'd 'em enough with talking of 'em for a whole Month," says Medley, in Fielding's play, "tho' faith, I believe it was owing to their having nothing else to talk of."

Of the two Cibbers, however, it is Colley who has the larger share in Fielding's satire. "Cibber, the smart, dapper little Frenchified coxcomb," says Leslie Stephen, "was just the type of all the qualities which Fielding most heartily despised." But Fielding's satire, as I shall endeavor to show, was directed not against Cibber's personality or character, but merely against his professional talents or lack of talents, as poet and playwright, matters which the town had already had much fun over, and mention of which would be likely to bring Fielding the desired laugh from his audiences.

"An *Ode* is a Butt," says the author of *The Egoist: Or, Colley upon Cibber* (1743), "that a whole Quiver of Wit is let fly at every Year!" Cibber's odes certainly were the butt of the town, and Fielding had already alluded to them in *The Author's Farce*. There are also allusions to them in *Pasquin*, but it is *The Historical Register* which contains the chief hit, namely an *Ode to the New Year*, which serves as a prologue to the play which

is being rehearsed. This is a burlesque of Cibber's New-Year odes, and reproduces some of the worn-out phrases of Cibber, particularly the idea of "singing the day." It begins as follows:

This is a Day, in Days of Yore,
Our Fathers never saw before;
This is a Day, 'tis one to ten,
Our Sons will never see again.
Then sing the Day,
And sing the Song,
And thus be merry
All Day long.

The ode of 1736 began, "Ye Smiling Seasons sing the Day," and when the next year's ode began, "Grateful Britons, grace the day," a note on the line in the *Grub-Street Journal* of January 13 said: "By *singing* it, as exhorted in the *Birth-day Odes* 1731, 1732. or *singing to* it, as in the *New Years Odes* 1733, 1736. So that the meaning is the very same with that noble verse in *Birth-day Ode* 1731. *With song, ye Britons*, lead the day; or that equally noble one in the *New Year Ode* 1737, *Awake with joyous songs the day*." "Sing, sing to *George's* gentle sway," was a line in the 1733 New Year's ode, and the note in the *Grub-Street Journal* was as follows: "In his *Birth Day Ode*, Oct. 1731, ver. 53. *Sing, Sing* the Morn, &c. In *October* last, ver. 42. *Sing, joyous Britons*, Sing. A most happy Use of the Figure Epizeuxis!" Much amusement was caused by Cibber's stereotyped phrases. The fifth verse of his 1737 ode was, "May Years to Years the sound repeat," and the note on it in the *Grub-Street Journal* read: "Some imagined it should be read *from*, and the sense *May years* after *years* repeat, &c. But the Poet certainly meant, *May this Year repeat the sound* of this *Ode* to the next, and so on *ad infinitum*."

Here are some sample arrows from that quiver of wit referred to in the preceding paragraph:

From the *Weekly Miscellany*, November 6, 1736:

His Majesty's Birth-Day. The Ode Composed by Colley Cibber, Esq; Poet Laureat to his Majesty, was performed. We shall observe, that the said Ode may be said to be better than some former ones of the same Author, and has fewer Faults, because it is *shorter*.

From the *Grub-Street Journal*, January 20, 1737:

An Extempore Epigram on seeing a Pipe lighted with one of the Laureat's Odes.

While the soft song, that warbles George's praise,
From Pipe to Pipe the living flame conveys;
Criticks, who long had scorn'd, must now admire;
For who can say his *Ode* now wants its *Fire*.

From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1736:

On the New Year's ODE, composed by COLLEY CIBBER, Esq;
A Pastoral

Strephon. COLLEY has tun'd again his *lute*.

Thyrsis. Has he! _____'s life!

Strephon. Nor is he yet quite out o' breath.

Thyrsis. Not yet? _____'s death!

Fielding was by no means the first to burlesque a Cibber ode. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1732, next to Cibber's new ode, was a burlesque of it. The ode began as follows:

Awake with joyous songs the day
That leads the op'ning year;
The year advancing to prolong
Augustus' sway demands our Song
And calls for universal cheer.

The burlesque echoed it in this manner:

Awake, with *Grub-Street Odes* the Day
That leads the op'ning year.
The year advancing to prolong
Great C—bb—r's Fame, demands a Song,
Inspir'd by *Gin*, or by *small Beer*.

and the last stanza contained these words:

May C—bb—r's *Muse* his *Odes* supply,
Till *Nonsense* shall be pleas'd to die,
Till *stupid Fools* desire his *Place*.

Again, the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1735, contained an ode on tobacco in imitation of Cibber's style:

May happy Britons taste thy aromatic steams:
May they of Tubes well-glaz'd ne'er want good store:
Be thou, till verse and COLLEY be no more,
The Poet's constant theme.

I have recently discovered in the *Universal Spectator* for August 17, 1734, a poem on Cibber's odes which deserves to be inserted here as a final example of contemporary satire:

On the Poet Laureat's Arrival at Scarborough, to drink the Waters.
By a Gentleman of Oxford.

From Helicon the Bards of old have sung,
That first the tuneful Train of Poets sprung;
That from that Well they drank capacious Bowls,
Full as their Fancy, large as were their Souls;
That thence in Epic, or in soaring Odes,
Inspir'd, they trod on Stars, and talk'd with Gods.
— Knowing how poor their Liquor, and how small,
We think it is Poetic Fiction all.

But when the Laurell'd Bard of Britain's King
Year after year revisits Scarb'rough's Spring;
Drinks deep his Draught, and purges well his Brains,
And from inspiring Water tunes his Strains;
When hence his Odes in Flights sublimely soar,
Such Odes! — as Poet never wrote before; —
Thy happier Water, Scarb'rough, we admire,
Which can our Laureat with such Strains inspire;
And bid the fabling Bards no more to tell
Of Helicon or Aganippe's Well:
Mad, they a Fancy'd Inspiration knew,
But all own Colley's Inspiration true,
For he his own Outdoings can out do.
His Second Birth-Day Ode the First Surpast,
And his Next Ode shall still outdo his Last.

Then O ye mad Romantic Poets, own
That Scarborough excells your Helicon;
Of which tho' Homer drank, he sometimes nods,
And slumbers uninspir'd among his Gods;
But C—BB—R justly can this Honour claim,
That He through ev'ry Ode is all the same.

I have quoted thus copiously to show first, that Fielding, in satirizing the odes of the laureate, was but taking one of the standing jokes of the time in order to get a sure response of laughter from his audience; and secondly, that Fielding did not hit Cibber half so hard as did many of the newspaper or magazine satirists. This second point could be further substantiated

by copious quotation. One can hardly complain, therefore, in view of this fact, of the licentiousness of the stage in satirizing Cibber, as did the author of a theatrical dictionary brought out in 1747,¹ who said, at the close of an account of *The Historical Register*: "Mr. Cibber had as much reason as any Body to complain of the Licentiousness of the Stage at this Time, since in the very Play we last mentioned, his own character was brought upon it in a very ridiculous Light, opening the Play with a New Years Day Ode."²

Three plays by Colley Cibber are mentioned in the speech in which Pistol interpreted the hiss of the mob to mean assent:

Such was the Hiss that spoke the great Applause
Our mighty Father met with, when he brought
His *Riddle* on the stage; such was the Hiss
Welcom'd his *Caesar* to the *Egyptian* Shore;
Such was the Hiss in which great *John* should have expir'd.³

Cibber's *Love in a Riddle* and his *Caesar in Aegypt* were failures. The other play, his adaptation of Shakespeare's *King John*, Cibber had just withdrawn from the stage while it was being rehearsed. The scene in *The Historical Register* where Ground-Ivy, i. e., Cibber, says that *King John* will not do as Shakespeare wrote it, but that he will make it do by alteration, is, of course, a most timely allusion, for Cibber's alteration had just created much excitement in the public press. Davies, in his account of this incident in the *Dramatic Miscellanies*, says that no sooner was the alteration known to the public than Cibber was severely attacked by the critics in the newspapers, and that the clamor against him for daring to alter Shakespeare was so great that he took the play from the prompter's desk and marched off with it in his pocket.⁴ A somewhat more detailed account is put into

¹ Appended to Whincop's *Scanderbeg*.

² This is not an accurate description of the way the ode is introduced in the play, for it is sung by singers.

³ Pope later wrote, in the first book of the revamped *Dunciad*, "King John in silence modestly expires."

⁴ Mr. Frederick W. Kilbourne is, of course, mistaken when he hazards the opinion in his *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1906) that Fielding's allusion to *King John* in *The Historical Register* "was probably the chief cause of the anger which . . . made Cibber take away the play."

the mouth of Theophilus Cibber in the anonymous *Apology*, where he is made to say: "It was no sooner in Rehearsal, but slap the Criticks were at him directly: Letters, Epigrams, Odes, Jokes, and all the Ribaldry of *Grubstreet* flew about in the Papers, and it was said the Templars . . . were engag'd to damn it. On this Mr. *Cibber* wrote a letter, directed *To the Students of the Inns of Court*, and very handsomly and mighty civilly desired them to do no such Thing. This letter was new Fuel to the Flame; they fell foul of the Letter immediately, from whence he might easily conjecture how they would use his Play." Then follows the account of how he resolved it should not be damned, and how, since it was so near its presentation that he could not fairly withdraw it, he took the copy from the prompter's desk and walked off with it.

The way the Templars fell foul of Cibber's address is first shown in the following verses from the *London Evening-Post*, February 5-8, 1737, entitled "*To C—LL—Y C—BB—R, Esq.; in Answer to his Letter in last Thursday's London Daily Post:*"

If C—ll—y this Play's like *your Odes* and *the rest*,
Your letter to us is meer Folly and Jest;
Young Students are seldom so vers'd in the Laws,
As to plead with Success in a very bad Cause.
To B—ch—rs you'd better by far have apply'd,
Who 'gainst their own Consciences often decide.
But we are impartial, and twenty to one,
Shall bring you in *Guilty* of murd'ring *King John*.

This was followed by a letter in the *Grub-Street Journal* of February 10, 1737, beginning as follows: "The surprising and politick Address of the Poetic Laureat to the younger Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, has raised a new Topic of Conversation in the Town," and stating that a copy of verses was being handed about the Temple. The verses followed:

Ye Younger Students of the Laws,
If COLLEY'S Case don't win ye
To give his Tragic JOHN applause;
The Devil sure is in ye.

He says, you're all so learn'd, so wise,
In Pit each a Drawcansir;

And if his Play ye shou'd despise,
This, Sirs, will be his Answer.

Dam'me — too wise on fame to feed,
I've made a surer bargain;
And tho' ye damn, still I succeed,
And cannot lose a farthing.

I'll stand ye all. — My Play I've sold, —
S'Buff — is the word of COLLEY;
When I secure have touch'd the gold —
How can ye damn my Folly?

In the *Whitehall Evening Post* for February 10-12, appeared the following:

We hear the following PROLOGUE is to be spoken at the Theatre in *Drury-Lane*, upon the Revival of King JOHN, alter'd from SHAKESPEAR, by the *Reviver* and *Author of the Alterations*.

To You, most learned *Youngsters of the Law*,
Who long have kept the *Stage*, and *Me* in Awe,
Lo! on my Knees, thus humbly do I bend,
And beg you, gentle Sirs, to stand my Friend.
For *Fame* I write not, as my *Odes* have shown,
And laugh at all the Censures of the Town;
But *Profit* is, you know, a real Good,
Which fires the noblest, and ignoblest Blood;
And though great Caesar, to record his Praise,
Hath crown'd my Temples with immortal Bays,
What modern Bard on *Sack* can always dine?
I, for my Part, love *honest JEPHSON'S Wine*.
I therefore hereby constitute the *Pit*,
Where on that dread Tribunal now you sit,
The Soverign Judge and Arbiter of Wit;
For who so proper to direct the Stage,
As Those, who've rul'd the Land in ev'ry Age?
Besides, as ancient Chronicles report,
What was *Apollo* but a Clerk in Court;
Or, as from other Authors I could prove,
My Predecessor, *Laureat to King Jove*?
And all our modern *Muses*, alias Misses,
Still strole about the *Temple*, fond of Kisses.
As for those slanting Dames, and Pig-tail'd Beaus,
Who in the *Boxes* sit, to shew their clothes,
Smear'd o'er with Powder, and bedawb'd with Lace,
Are they fit Judges in a Poet's Case?

No, let the Law proceed in it's due Channel,
 So, with one Dash, I strike them off the Pannel;
 And if the Gall'ries dare to hiss, or bawl,
 If you stand by Me, S'blood! We'll stand Them all!
 Then for the sake of *Shakespear* and King John,
 O! save me for this Time, or I'm undone.

The subject was still being bandied about in the papers March 3, when the *Grub-Street Journal* printed "An Epilogue, design'd to be spoken to *King John*, a Play written by Shakespeare, and amended by Colley Cibber, Esq; Poet Laureat." The following lines in it were addressed to the young Templars:

Nay, you have prov'd you take it not amiss,
 Since from you SMARTS, I did not hear one hiss.
 This shews, that, wisely, when I took to suing,
I far out-did, my usual out-doing.

Indeed, a set of envious men, who think,
 That all I write is so much waste of Ink,
 Who came, perhaps, to hear a prodigy
 Of flowing lines, and sense, at once from me;
 Baulk'd in their hopes, when they could neither find
 (Why seek they not in chains the winds confin'd)
 Flew to their Cat-calls, and revengeful swore
 Poor SHAKESPEAR never was so maul'd before.
 Thanks to the reigning taste, these are but few.
 And I can't fear them while upheld by you.

It is evident, in the light of these illustrations, that Fielding's mention of Cibber's alteration of *King John*, when *The Historical Register* appeared March 21, touched upon a topic which was not only exceedingly timely, but very popular as well. One can imagine that Fielding received a response from his audience when he made Medley say: "No, Sir, I have too great an Honour for *Shakespear* to think of burlesquing him, and to be sure of not burlesquing him, I will never attempt to alter him, for fear of burlesquing him by accident, as perhaps others have done;" and again, when he maintained that *Ground-Ivy* was "as proper as any Man in the Kingdom for the Business, . . . for as *Shakespear* is already good enough for People of Taste, he must be alter'd to the Palates of those who have none; and if you grant that, who can be properer to alter him for the worse?" In view of the fact that there had been such a clamor raised

against Cibber's alteration, we can hardly agree with Lawrence, Fielding's nineteenth-century biographer, when he says that this satire against Cibber "shows that Fielding, in point of dramatic taste, was much in advance of his age."

One more point in regard to Fielding's satire on Cibber's alteration should be pointed out. When he makes Ground-Ivy say, "The Bastard *Faulconbridge* is a most effeminate character, for which Reason I would cut him out, and put all his Sentiments in the Mouth of *Constance*, who is so much properer to speak them," Fielding shows that he was familiar to some extent with the text of Cibber's play, for he here puts his finger on a point in Cibber's alteration which critics fell foul of as soon as *Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John* was brought out in 1745. It was agreed that Cibber had murdered the characters of Falconbridge and Constance. This point was made in *A Letter to Colley Cibber, Esq; on his Transformation of King John* (1745), but it had also been made in a letter by "Philo-Shakespear" in the *Daily Journal*, February 7, 1737,⁵ in some words burlesquing Cibber's letter to the Students of the Inns of Court, *London Daily Post*, February 3: "Now know ye therefore, O ye *Lawyers Clerks*, that I Poet Laureat, thinking *King John* too weak for your Entertainment (by which I intend a Compliment to your Taste and Judgment) have cut out all the *strong* Parts in it, which I have supplied by something more suitable to your Taste than the *Bombast* and *Rhodomontade* of the Bastard *Faulconbridge* and the Whore his *Mother*: The Queen Mother of *England* too I have packed off. Moreover, thinking young *Arthur's* Scene with *Hubert* too moving, I have changed the Circumstance of it quite; so that you'll be able to see it with the utmost Tranquility and Indifference. In short, I have reformed the Play in such a manner, that, if you will but sit still and hear it out, I'll answer for it, you never saw any thing like it in

⁵ Possibly Fielding's knowledge concerning the changes in the characters of Falconbridge and Constance came from Philo-Shakespeare's letter. The wording suggests the possibility, and we may be sure from the other allusions to King John that Fielding was writing *The Historical Register* between Cibber's withdrawal of his play, and March 21, when *The Historical Register* was produced. His use of the very latest contemporary topics is quite evident.

your Lives before. And this, by a Figure of Speech peculiar to myself, I call a *Revisal*.”⁶

In conclusion I should like to emphasize the character of Fielding's satire on the Cibbers as contrasted with other satires of the time. It was entirely satire directed against their professional activities—the acting of Theophilus, and the writings of Colley. It was not satire directed against their personalities or their characters. In this Fielding shows a remarkable restraint. In the case of Theophilus, whose character was contemptible, less careful satirists indulged in personal abuse. Colley too, was personally abused by many, and called fool and ass. Fielding merely held up for ridicule the odes and plays of Cibber's which were regarded as standing jokes of the time, and a reference to which would bring a laugh from his audience, this being Fielding's general policy in all of the four satires of 1736-1737. Far harder on Cibber was Alexander Pope in the personal satire of his revamped *Dunciad*. That Cibber took offense at Fielding, however, is perfectly plain from his description of Fielding, in the delightful *Apology* for his life (1740), as a broken wit whom he did not choose to name. “I shall not give the particular Strokes of his Ingenuity a Chance to be remembered, by reciting them,” he somewhat vainly said. But the whirligig of time brings in his revenges.

⁶ The *Daily Journal* of February 11, answering this letter of Philo-Shakespeare, concludes as follows: “I just now hear the Laureat has withdrawn his Tragedy; which I hope is not true, as it would look very much like not daring to stand to the Judgments he applied to.”

NOTES ON GLOVER'S INFLUENCE ON KLOPSTOCK

By FLETCHER BRIGGS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Klopstock's knowledge of Glover's poetry extended back to an early period in the former's life. As a student at Schulpforta, the young German made favorable comment on the Englishman, then famous for the epic, *Leonidas*—comment which appeared in his *Abschiedsrede*, September, 1745. If he did not reveal the extent, or the origin, of his knowledge at that time, later he left definite evidence of familiarity with Glover's poetry, and of correspondence between the two men. In letters to close friends Klopstock showed a lively literary interest in Glover.

The object of this study is to make detailed comparisons of motifs which appear in certain literary productions of both poets. Of Glover's works *Leonidas* must be considered on account of Klopstock's allusions to some of its characters. In fact several of his works—passages in the *Messias* (1748) and in certain *Oden*, some of which have been cited by others—bear comparison with parts of the English epic. The present discussion is confined to these works.

The closest parallel found in Klopstock's early writings involves his love for his cousin Sophie Schmidt. Judging from his letters, the ardent young man began to despair of her love almost from the beginning. Particularly after his visit to Sophie (also called "Fanny") during the spring of 1748 he mentions this fact several times. The hopeless lover speaks forth also in certain poems.

The striking relation between his love affair and that of two characters in *Leonidas* is noted by Klopstock himself. In writing to Hagedorn, April 19, 1749, he remarks on his experience at considerable length: "*Meine Geschichte hat einige Aehnlichkeit mit der Geschichte der Ariana und des Teribazus im Leonidas. Meine Singer [Sophie] hat einen Bruder, der der Freund meiner Jugend, und der Liebling unter meinen Freunden ist. Er ist der Vertrauter, und in dem, was ich mir selbst nicht will zu*

verdanken haben, der Unterstützer meiner Liebe. *Ich wünschte, dasz nur nicht diese vornehmste Aehnlichkeit fehlte, nämlich die geheime Neigung des Mädchens.*" As early as November 5, 1748, in fact, Klopstock, writing to Bodmer, made a similar, though briefer, reference to Glover's pair of lovers: "*Ebert hat den Leonidas übersetzt. Die Geschichte von dem Teribazus und der Ariana hat mich so angegriffen, dasz ich mir wie das marmorne Bild vorkomme, das über dem Grabmale eines todten Helden steht.*" These quotations, showing the impressions which a part of the epic made upon him, contain interesting information.

Several facts may be established upon the evidence of Klopstock's own testimony:

(1) His interest in *Leonidas* returned, after several months, to the episode of the young lovers, which reminded him of his own experience.

(2) His acquaintance with the episode can be fixed with certainty as early as November, 1748, or three years later than his first recorded reference to its author.

(3) His testimony of intimate acquaintance with Glover's epic is dated in the late autumn of the same year in which Ebert published it in his German translation.

Certain poetic conceptions contained in *Leonidas* had impressed themselves deeply on the mind of the aspiring young poet.

The story of Ariana and Teribazus referred to is interwoven in the epic (Books V and VI). Stated briefly, the young man secretly loves the princess; but thinking that he can never win her, he seeks and meets death on the battlefield. Hyperanthes, her brother, appears at the death scene and receives sympathetically Teribazus' first confession of his love. Later Ariana finds his body among those who have fallen. Impelled by her deep, disappointed love, Ariana kneeling takes her own life and falls over the dead body of her lover.—Further details will appear later in the passages quoted.

Points common to the two love affairs, which probably struck Klopstock and caused him, in April, 1749, to recall the similarity are:

(1) The lover's despair during his love;

(2) The devotion of the beloved's brother to the cause of the lover;¹

(3) The lover's humbler family in contrast to that of the beloved; and

(4) The lover distinguished by learning and other accomplishments of his times.

Klopstock emphasized (to Hagedorn) also the difference between the two affairs ("dasz nur nicht diese vornehmste Aehnlichkeit fehlte"), which is the lack of reciprocation of his love. But he had known for months another difference; viz., that Glover's lovers both die before they share the knowledge of their mutual love.

Details of Teribazus' death appear in the following (V, 292 ff.):

But he [Hyperanthes] with wat'ry cheeks
And dumb with sorrow clasps his dying friend,
From whose cold lip with interrupted phrase
These accents broke . . .
O Hyperanthes! hear my tongue unfold

What with my dying breath I here divulge.
I love thy sister. With despair I lov'd.

Though, witness heav'n, without regret I bleed.

Ariana afterwards relates (VI, 86-88):

A passion long conceal'd
For me alas! within my brother's arms
His dying breath resigning, he disclos'd.

In brief, just before his death the youth, resting in the arms of his beloved's brother, gives utterance to his love, and the latter then communicates the information to his sister.

Compare with that account the situation in Klopstock's ode, *Der Abschied* (1748). This poem dwells upon the poet's death. Note the death scene (ll. 14-17):

Den letzten Abend sprach ich, und lehnte mich
An deines Bruders Brust, und weinend

¹ In Klopstock's letter (to Hagedorn) he mentioned at length the devotion of Sophie's brother to her lover's cause.

Senkt' ich die Hand ihm in seine Hand hin;
 Mein Schmidt ich sterbe . . .

Here Klopstock pictures himself much as Teribazus has been described. The lover dying in the arms of his beloved's brother suggests the similar situation—a parallel except for detail—in the death scene of Glover's poem (V, 293; VI, 87 f.). The fact (stressed earlier) that Schmidt is mentioned by Klopstock in his letter alluding to the episode, is important evidence that he had it in mind also when he composed this ode.² And further (ll. 77-82):

Geh, wenn ich todt bin, lächelnd, so wie ich starb,
 Zu deiner Schwester; schweige vom Traurenden;
 Sag ihr, dasz sterbend ich von ihr noch
 Also gesprochen, mit heitrem Blicke;
 Des Herzens Sprache, wenn sie mein todter Blick,
 Noch reden kann, ach sag' ihr: Wie liebt' ich dich [Sophie].

In these lines Klopstock carries still further the parallel to Glover's episode: the despairing lover's reconciliation to his own imminent death; his declaration of love for her to her brother; and this brother of his beloved carrying to her the message.

Noteworthy is the fact that Klopstock here imagined his death. He who lived and realized that his love for Sophie would probably not be returned, for he had declared his love for her! But in such a fantastic diversion his own situation held for him the possibility of a rather doubtful satisfaction, viz., assuming that his disappointment had not been real and that Sophie would grieve (like Ariana) over her lover's death. He wrote further (ll. 125-28):

Wenn ich vor dir so werde gestorben sein,
 O meine Fanny, und du auch sterben willst;
 Wie wirst du deines todten Freundes
 Dich in der ernsteren Stund' erinnern!

And here Klopstock anticipates not only his own death and assumes Fanny's (Sophie's) grief over it, but he also suggests

² The Muncker-Pawel edition of the *Oden* dates this ode "Herbst 1748;" and Hamel, "gegen Ende 1748."

her own desire to die. How evident now is the more complete parallel to Glover's episode!

Under the circumstances developed in the poem it only remained for the imitator to conjure up Sophie's confession of a "geheime Neigung" resembling Ariana's (VI, 73 ff., 118 ff.). But the unhappy Klopstock was content to fall short of his model for the poetic idealization of his own experience.

In short, the similarity between these parts of the poems is greater than that between Klopstock's experience and the ode in which he idealizes it. The internal evidence in the poems outweighs, in fact, even the resemblance which he points out between his experience and Glover's episode. However, Klopstock cites in referring to this resemblance a significant detail of his experience which he uses also in his poem. And further, the composition of the ode, according to the critics, was near the date on which he first mentioned the episode, or several months after the beginning of his despair. At such a time he might well idealize his unhappy situation by borrowed poetic conceptions.

The motifs, scattered elsewhere in Klopstock's poetry, which bear upon details of Glover's episode, are: (a) the lover's death; (b) the beloved lamenting the death of her lover; and (c) the marble figure. These may appear in somewhat varied form.

(a) Motif of the lover's death: Death, under conditions suggesting in part those already discussed, is mentioned in several other odes concerning Sophie. In *Der Abschied* the lover dies first, but this order is not necessarily a definite feature in every instance of the motif's occurrence.

The ode *An Fanny* (1748) mentions the death of both himself (ll. 1 ff.) and Sophie (ll. 11 ff.). It is significant that the poem, composed in the autumn of 1748, was sent to Bodmer together with the aforementioned reference to the Teribazus-Ariana episode.

The *Bruchstück einer Ode auf Fanny* (1750) contains the lines:

Nicht Liebe bat ich, selber auch Freundschaft nicht,
Nur Einen Seufzer für so viele Traurigkeit!
Nur Einen Blick, der still mir in jene Welt
Nachschaut!

Here again, after several years of unrequited love, the poet imagines the lover's death, preceding that of his beloved.

In the ode *Selmar und Selma* (1748)³ the reciprocating lovers consider which of them shall be the first to die. Selma exclaims: "Selmar, ich sterbe mit dir!" The poem suggests only by this ideal solution at the beginning the recurring motif.

The lovers who give the name to the preceding ode appear also in another, *Das Bündnisz* (1789). Considering how one, after death, may make his presence known to the living, they incidentally mention the succession of their deaths. This late occurrence is only a faint suggestion of the motif.

The conception of the lover's death became with Klopstock a fixed poetic motif. Whether the association of death with his disappointment grew out of any contemplated violent action on his part, or not, Muncker,⁴ his biographer, attributes the recurrence of the motif to the English poets, Mrs. Rowe and Young. But considering the foregoing discussion of *Der Abschied*, it seems that Klopstock's use of the motif may be equally well referred to Glover.⁵

(b) Motif of the beloved lamenting her lover: This motif has already been noted in *Der Abschied*.

The *Messias*, in one of the first three cantos (usually attributed to the year 1748), contains the following instance (III, 546-48):

³ Muncker-Pawel places the date of composition in June or July, 1748.

⁴ Klopstock, p. 199 ff.

⁵ In considering Klopstock's poetry, observe parts of a poem, "An Herrn Kl_____ck," by his cousin, Schmidt (Sammlung verm. Schriften, Vol. I, pp. 477 ff.), also mentioned in Klopstock's letter to Bodmer, Nov. 28, 1749. Erich Schmidt (Q. & F. Vol. XXXIX, p. 39) notes in his comment on this poem the existence of a close relation in the two cousins' literary interests. Among the salient points appear: (1) the death of the lover, together with (2) the beloved lamenting the lover's death (cf. motif b)—

Wie in einsamer Nacht eine verlassne Braut
Der des Vaterlands Noth ihren geliebtesten,
Ihren zärtlichen Jüngling,
Aus dem schmachtenden Arme riss ;

and (3) the girl falling as it were upon the dead body (as in *Leonidas*):
da stürzt sie aus Angst zu ihm und weinet laut,

All this is merely a simile to represent the young Schmidt's lamentation at Klopstock's imagined death. These lines are close parallels to Klopstock's passages discussed under motifs a and b.

Aber bald wird sich der furchtbare Tod am Tage des Jammers
 Ueber sie breiten, - - - - -
 Wo mit gerungenen Händen die Braut um den Bräutigam jammert.

The motif is simply presented and with little detail.

Die zweite Höhe (1797) contains an equally clear but late example (II.30-32):

Lasz heller, Vergessung, der Weinenden Auge
 Werden, es länger nicht bluten; lasz den todten Geliebten
 Länger vor Wehmuth nicht jammern die Braut.

This simple incorporation of the motif, like the preceding, lacks accompanying details which are used by Glover in Ariana's appearance over the dead body of her lover.

In the early part of the *Messias* is found also the less direct, yet suggestive, similarity of thought⁶ (V, 229 f.):

In ihr Elend vertieft, stirbt eine theure Geliebte
 An des zärtlichen Jünglings Brust.

Compare with the line on Ariana's death-scene (VI, 155):

On her slain lover, silent sinks in death.

Klopstock's lines, famous in the eighteenth century, according to Hamel's note, represent the lamenting girl dying before her lover (in harmony with other instances in the preceding lines) and falling, as in Glover's scene on the breast of her lover. Contrary to the German poet's custom in instances heretofore noted, the girl's lamentation precedes her lover's death.

The appearance of this motif in Klopstock's poetry is notable. In the first instance there is again, as in the case of the preceding motif, coincidence with the time of the poet's despair and his mention of Glover's episode. Again there is variation in sequence.

(c) Motif of the marble figure: The marble figure, mentioned by Klopstock to Bodmer, appears in Glover's description of Ariana on the battlefield (VI, 143-49):

⁶ Klopstock mentions these lines, thus indicating their early composition, in a letter to Schlegel, October 8, 1748.

Invincible despair

Suppress'd her utt'rance. As a marble form
 Fix'd on the solemn sepulchre, unmov'd
 O'er some dead hero, whom his country lov'd,
 Bends down the head with imitated woe:
 So paus'd the princess o'er the breathless clay,
 Inranc'd in sorrow.

Compare with the preceding Klopstock's lines in the ode *Die Königin Luise* (1752). After reference to the queen's death and the prevalent sorrow expressed in tears, the poet continues (ll. 7-10):

Wer mehr empfand, blieb unbeweglich stehen,
 Verstummt', und weint' erst spät.
 So steht mit starrem Blick, der Marmor auf dem Grabe;
 So schautest du ihr, Friedrich, nach!

The resemblance, to which Hamel calls attention in his notes on the ode, is clear. In both poems the simile characterizes the one lover transfixed, as it were, by grief at separation from the other by death. The poetic figure, "das marmorne Bild," which Klopstock had borrowed (in his letter) to characterize his own grief, he also applied more than three years later to his patron, the King of Denmark. This figure, originally applied to Ariana, who was of the nobility, is appropriately borrowed to celebrate the death of the queen.

The *Messias* contains also lines which are included by Hamel in his notes on the preceding ode. To quote the passage (III, 553-55):⁷

Mit tiefsinniger Stirn der Todesengel herabsteigt,
 Und sich umsieht, und alles verödet und still und einsam
 Sieht, und auf den Gräbern voll ernster Betrachtungen stehen bleibt.

Here the angel suggests by the place and by the posture the marble figure which stands watching over the dead. In these several respects Klopstock's lines bear out the resemblance to Glover's description of Ariana.

⁷ The last two lines in the edition of 1799 read as follows: "Weit umherschaut, alles still, und einsam, und öde Sieht, und auf den Gräbern in ernsten Betrachtungen stehen bleibt."

Much the same poetic conception appears earlier in the *Messias* (III, following l. 532) :

Petrus and Jakobus bey des hohen Hesekiels Denkmal,
Wo er auf dem Marmor mit ernstem entzückten Gesichte
Stand, und um sich herum erwachende Todten erblickte.

All of these figures, apparently in stone, on the common tomb, are similar to that of the death angel mentioned above: in place, in significant posture, and observation of the dead. These lines appeared in the edition of 1748, and, according to Hamel,⁸ were later omitted at the same time and for the same reason as the lines following Canto II, 236—a statement which suggests a common origin also for the repeated motif.

Striking lines appear later in the *Messias* (XII, 487-89) :

er findet ein Grab in dem Felsen,
Ueber dem Grabe das Bild des liegenden Todten, ein andrer
Starrender Marmor, der Freund, steht neben der Leiche.

Strange that such lines should have been left without comment by the critical editors! In these lines there appear two references to marble figures; the image of the dead, and "ein andrer starrender Marmor," alluding to the friend beside the lifeless body. The former was probably suggested to the poet by the actual image of the dead upon the grave, and the latter, more or less consciously, by Glover's simile.

Less striking similarity to the motif is evident at a relatively early date. The marble figure is to be found only in the original edition (*Mess.* II, following l. 236) :

Nah beym stillen Gebein des entschlafnen kleinen Benoni
Stand der König zu Salem, Melchisedek, marmorn gebildet,
. Er stand und schaute
Sterbend in sein Grabmal, . . .

This passage, which appeared in the version of 1748, but was omitted from later editions, was admired by the poet's friends and apparently by himself, on account of the statue.⁹ Its conflicting with the tradition of the Jews, in the matter of permit-

* Cf. notes to Hamel's edition, Vol. I, p. 161.

* Cf. notes to Hamel's edition, Vol. I, p. 77.

ting statues of the dead, caused the poet to sacrifice the passage. Considered as a valued poetic conception in that impressionable period of the poet's life, the similarity (to Glover's lines) may be more closely examined. This marble figure, in contrast to the grieved living figure which is likened to a marble, wears an expression of expectant joy. It may be considered, however, to hold a station in reference to the dead body of Melchisedek or of the departed one, Benoni, corresponding in its watchfulness to the living person, who mourned beside the body of the dead. The appearance of this marble figure is indeed noteworthy at this time.

In reference to Christ's body hanging on the cross, the poet continues (*Mess.* VIII, 410-13):

Die Erde lag in ihrer Betäubung. Betäubter
Bleibet der Freund nicht am Grabe des frühentfliehenden Freundes,
Oder wer grosse Thaten versteht, an dem Marmor des edlen
Patrioten, der Tugenden nachliess.

The earth is compared to a devoted friend affected by the death of Christ. But the marble mentioned appears in no specific form. It might be a mere grave stone, or it might be a statue. However, a statue of marble that arouses the emotion in the living, and not the grief-stricken friend that resembles a marble figure, is probably intended here. Compare also "des . . . Patrioten" with "hero whom his country loved."

Again something of the repeated conception appears late in the composition of the *Messias*. (XVIII, 120):

. . . und wie sehr geschmückt mit dem Marmor diese Grab war

Mention of the marble is simply associated with the grave. The word "geschmückt," without attributing any definite form to the marble, connotes something, like portraiture, elaborate in its ornamental quality.

Likewise late (1775) appears another more suggestive line in the ode, *Fürstenlob* (l. 17):

Und deckte gebildeter Marmor auch das Grab.

Hamel comments in his notes "gebildeter Marmor: marmorne

Bildwerke." Here again the form attributed to the marble is indefinite though stimulating to the imagination. The line justifies comparison with the more distinct cases of similarity already noted.

The marble statue offers a real problem. What complications may the material or any monumental tomb have suggested to the poet's mind? And yet one who is mindful of his letter to Bodmer will contemplate the simile in poems as late as 1752 with a conviction that Glover's influence was here at work.

To sum up: Glover's *Leonidas* unmistakably influenced Klopstock's poetry. More specifically, the episode of the lovers left its traces, though nowhere else so completely as in *Der Abschied*. Yet the use of the three motifs discussed was conspicuous before 1750, coinciding with his mention of the episode in letters and also with Schmidt's use of certain ones of these motifs; and most conspicuous in the crucial year (1748) of his love. If the ode does not embody the simile of the marble figure, all three motifs appear with equal frequency during those early years—a fact which points to the poet whom the younger one may really have known intimately only from Ebert's German translation. In later years the motifs may appear either as poetic conceptions once deeply impressed on his young mind, or perhaps only as conceptions prevalent among poets of that period. Klopstock's interest in the English epic, however, contributed definitely to his treatment of unhappy love.

NOTE ON BANDELLO, PARTE I, NOVELLA 14.

By ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE
Indiana University

The fourteenth story of the first book of Matteo Bandello's *Novelle*¹ bears the following rubric: Antonio Perillo dopo molti travagli sposa la sua amante, e la prima notte sono dal folgore morti. It is preceded by a letter of the author, in which he dedicates it to an Italian nobleman, Mario Equicola d'Olveto, and represents it as a true event that had occurred in Naples some time previously.

The hero of the story is a young Neapolitan gambler who squanders nearly his entire patrimony. Falling in love with Carmosina, the daughter of Pietro Mirio, a rich Neapolitan merchant, he wishes to marry her, and he asks for her hand, but receives a flat refusal from the girl's father. Stunned at this rebuff, he decides to change his life, buys a ship and merchandise with the financial aid of some relatives, and goes to sea. Misfortune, however, pursues him. His vessel is driven to the coast of Barbary by contrary winds and captured by the Moors. He loses his property and is himself exposed for sale on the slave market. The girl's father, who observes the custom of purchasing a limited number of Christian slaves every year and of setting them at liberty, happens to ransom him through one of his agents, without discovering his identity. With the help of the girl, who sincerely loves him, he succeeds in securing a large enough sum to buy another vessel and sets out to sea again. This time he is luckier; he returns to Italy a rich merchant. Again he woos his beloved one, this time successfully. The wedding is held with great pomp, but that very night the lightning strikes the house and kills them both.

From this outline it will be seen immediately that we have to deal with one of the numerous sea and adventure stories which

¹ Matteo Bandello, *Le Novelle*, a cura di G. Brognoligo, Vol. I, Bari, Laterza, 1910, p. 164. On the sources of the work see: F. Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, Milan, n.d., p. 358 and bibliography.

form so considerable a part of the Italian short story collections from the time of Boccaccio on.² The incidents here described are for the most part so trivial that it certainly did not require great power of combination to put them together. The young man whose character is improved by the influence of love is also met with in the *Decameron*.³

On these *données*, then, Bandello somehow grafted the tragic ending, taken from a different source, the scholia to Ovid's *Ibis*.

Lines 529-30 of the Latin text read:

Sit tibi coniugii nox prima novissima vitae.

Eupolis hoc periit et nova nupta modo.

The scholia comment upon those verses as follows:⁴

529. Sit tibi coniugii. Eupolis et uxor sua primo concubitu perierunt fulmine, causa tamen latet. vel ideo quia aliis diis vocatis Iovis obliti sunt. G.

and:

Eupolis et uxor sua Medela in primo concubitu interfecti sunt a Iove, quia sacrificaverunt omnibus diis et non Iovi. C et Ask.

The same story, with one variant, is alluded to in the *Anthologia Palatina*, where we find the following epigram:⁵

298. ΑΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΝ· Αἰαῖ, τοῦτο κάκιστον, ὅταν κλαίωσι θανόντα
νυμφίον ἢ νύμφην· ἦνίκα δ' ἀμφοτέρους,
Εὐπολιν ὥς ἀγαθὴν τε Λυκαίνιον, ὧν ὑμέναιον
ἔσβεσεν ἐν πρώτῃ νυκτὶ πεσὼν θάλαμος,
οὐκ ἄλλω τόδε κῆδος ἰσόρροπον, ᾧ σὺ μὲν νιόν,
Νῖκα, σὺ δ' ἔκλαυσας, Θεὺδικε, θυγατέρα.

As we see, nothing is said about the lightning killing the couple.

In the ninth book of the *Anthology* the same story is attributed to Diogenes, but again nothing permits us to conclude that the lightning was the cause of their death.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΟΥ· Πρὸς παῖδων, εἴπεν, γουνάζομαι, ἦν με θανοῦσαν
στεῖλης, μὴ σπείσαι δεύτερα φίλτρα γάμου.

² Dec. II, 4; cf. also Gröber, *Ueber die Quellen von Boccaccios Dekameron*, Strassbourg, 1913, p. 13.

³ V, 1; cf. also: M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 315 and Lee, *The Decameron, its sources and analogues*, London, 1909, p. 157. The motif under discussion occurs also in Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, VIII, 17.

⁴ P. Ovidii Nasonis *Ibis*, ed. R. Ellis, Oxonii, 1881, p. 91.

⁵ VII, 298.

⁶ *Antholog. Pal.*, IX, 422.

εἶπεν ὁ δ' εἰς ἐτέρην ἐσπούδασεν. ἀλλὰ Φύλιννα
 Διογένην λήθης τίσατο καὶ φθιμένην
 νυκτὶ γὰρ ἐν πρώτῃ θάλαμον σχάσε μῆνις ἄφικτος,
 ὥς μὴ λέκτρον ἰδεῖν δεύτερον ἥελιον.

It would follow, then, that the Latin scholia alone come into consideration as the direct source of the Italian short story writer. We know that Ovid's *Ibis* enjoyed extreme popularity about the time of Bandello's youth, which falls in the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁷ On the other hand, the scholia were published in full for the first time in an appendix to the Paris edition of the *Ibis*, printed in 1573⁸, while Bandello's story is contained in the first part of the *Novelle*, published at Lucca, in 1554⁹. This, however, is no serious obstacle to our theory. There existed, in the fourteenth century, quite a number of commentaries on the *Ibis* in manuscript form, and these could be found in many Italian libraries¹⁰. It is very likely that one of them was Bandello's direct source.

⁷ P. Ovidii Nasonis *Ibis*, ed. cit., p. VI.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. LVI.

⁹ René Sturel, *Bandello en France au XVI^e siècle*, *Bulletin Italien*, XIII, 1913, p. 211.

¹⁰ P. Ovidii Nasonis *Ibis*, ed. cit., p. LVII.

AN ADDITIONAL WORD LIST FROM PIONEER IOWA

By FRANK LUTHER MOTT
University of Iowa

16. DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

Break. (Ha.86). v. To separate, as an animal from a herd. "He rode after an erratic steer which broke from the herd."

Cow-power. (BB.2). sb. Oxen. "The extra cow-power was distributed along the wagon train."

†*Critter.* (BB.2). sb. An animal, usually domestic.

Free commoner. (Bo.296). sb. An animal that pastures on the open prairie.

Neat cattle. (Sk.30). sb.pl. Cattle raised for beef; distinguishing them from the work animals. "The neat cattle range at large."

Ox shoes. (BB.21). sb. pl. Plates for hoofs of oxen, made "in two pieces."

**Steer.* sb. s. and pl. An ox or oxen. The regular plural was also used.

Straggler. (Me.42). sb. An animal that has been lost on the open range.

String. (Ma.156). sb. A file. "Several yokes of oxen harnessed in a string."

Yoke. (Ma.156). sb. s. and pl. A pair of oxen harnessed together. The regular plural was sometimes used.

17. A FEW CROP TERMS.

**Hand-patch.* sb. A field tended by hand.

Neshenocks. (F.18). sb. "King of potatoes." From Neshannock, an Algonkin name given to a Pennsylvania creek. The accent is on the second syllable. Possibly an attempt to etymologize the first syllable resulted in the variant: **White Mashinicks.* The flesh was white. See Hodge's *Hand-book of the Indians.*

**Patch.* sb. A field, usually one under cultivation.

Sod-corn. (Mfg.54). sb. Corn grown after the first breaking of the prairie sod. Variant: *Sod-crop.* (ICR.,27 May 1843).

18. PIONEER ROADS.

†*Bottom.* (Ma.222). sb. The hard stratum under the mud of a road. "The bottom of the road had gone out."

†*Chuck-hole.* (F.90). sb. A depression in the road. Perhaps named from the noise a wagon makes when it drops into the hole.

Comin-out. (Me.20). sb. Used of a ford; the place of emergence there-

from. "It was give out that the meetin' would be held at the comin-out of the ford."

Indian trail. (Sk.204). sb. The aboriginal road; the genesis of many pioneer roads.

Plank road. (P3.30). sb. A road with plank paving.

Stage road. (A1.251). sb. The road followed by the stage route.

†*Slough down.* (3A5.27). v. phr. To sink into mud until progress is impossible; used usually of vehicles. Variant: *†*Mire down.*

Track. (A1.343). sb. A trail or road. "That was the Old Mormon Track." Variant: *Trace.* (3A13.34). *Trail.* (3A13.34).

19. RIVER BOATING.

Blowers, The. (UM.38). sb. pl. "Forced draft."

Broad. (Me.29). sb. A flatboat.

Bushwhack. (Ma.222). v. To propel by means of bushes and trees on shore to which ropes were attached.

Cordell. (Ma.222). v. To propel by means of a tow-line. From Fr. *cordelle*, a small cord.

Crossing. (UM). sb. Course across current, avoiding reefs or other obstructions.

Dug-out. (Ia.206). sb. A row-boat made of a hollowed log. This is the third time we have met this homonym; once it stood for a dwelling and once for a prairie water-hole. Its manufacture described UM.22. Variant: *Log canoe.* (BB.18).

Filling and backing. (GC). phr. The alternate movement of a steamboat at anchor under power. —Thornton's *Glossary*.

Keel-boat. (Me.29). sb. A boat without sail or engine, but differing from a flatboat in having a keel. Variant: **Keel.*

Mark. (UM.78). sb. 1. A guiding feature of the shore known by pilots. 2. Also a word used in the leadsman's call, as "Mark twain!"

Light wood. (UM.34). sb. Southern pine full of resinous sap which would burn fiercely, illuminating the deck of the boat and the levee for hundreds of feet around." Variant: *Fat-wood.* (UM.34).

Mud clerk. (UM.52). sb. A second clerk, whose work on muddy levees made the name appropriate.

Pole. (3A4.327). v. To propel by poles.

Setting pole. (3A4.328). sb. An iron-pointed instrument used in poling.

Sawyer. (2A1.118). sb. A fallen tree or snag in the water. Named for the see-saw motion given it in the current.

†*Side-wheeler.* (3A4.335). sb. A steam boat driven by wheels at her two sides.

Small-class steamer. (Mfg.129). sb. A kind of steamboat made for navigating the smaller rivers. Variant: †*Light-draft steamer.* (A6.323).

Striker. (UM.39). sb. "A cub engineer."

Walking-board. (Ma. 222). sb. The board track along which the crew walked in "bushwhacking." They walked to the stern holding the towline, and returned on the other side of the deck.

Wood. (A7.188). v. To take on wood to feed the steam engine. "The steamboat landed to wood." Variant: *Wood up.* (UM.59).

20. FENCES.

Ditch fence. (Ha. 27). sb. "Made by digging a ditch three feet deep and two and a half feet wide, throwing all dirt up for an additional barrier."

Fence viewer. (We.126). sb. An official charged with the duty of inspecting the sufficiency of fences.

Fencing timber. (N.17). Trees suitable for making rails.

Ground chunk. (Me.49). A stone used in supporting the lowest rail of some kinds of rail fences.

Lay the worm. (Me.48). v. phr. To set the angles of a rail fence, by locating the lowest line of rails. See illustration opposite Me.41.

†*Line-fence.* (Bo. 422). sb. A fence built along the line between two farms.

Osage-orange hedge. (Ha.26). sb. A hedge made of the shrub *Toxylon pomiferum*. Variant: **Mock-orange hedge.*

†*Pig-tight, horse-high and bull-strong.* (Me.49). A phrase describing the qualities of a good fence.

Rail-cut. (3Hi.101). sb. A rail of proper length for use in a fence. "He had to chop trees into rail cuts."

Rail fence. (Me.41). sb. A fence built of rails split from logs. Reference is to an excellent illustrated description of the varieties common in pioneer Iowa. Varieties: *Worm-f. Buck-f. Shanghai-f. Post-and-rail f. Stake-and-rider f. Stake-and-double-rider f. Lock-f. Rough-and-ready f.*

†*Stock fence.* (2A2.33). sb. A fence which will stop stock.

**Wire fence.* sb. A fence made of smooth wire run through wooden posts.

Worm-stick. (Me.48). sb. A perpendicular staff into which a stick was set; used for locating worm fences.

21. MILLS.

Corn-cracker. (A1.346). sb. A rude grist-mill; a term of deprecation.

†*Horse-mill.* (Sk.67). sb. A mill operated by horse-power.

†*Mill-seat.* (N.12). sb. The site of a mill.

†*Run of stones.* (Mfg.91). sb. The series of mill-stones. "A run of stones was attached to the saw-mill to grind grists." Variant: *Run of burhs.* (Me.38).

Sarse. (3A6.449). sb. A hand bolting cloth. Probably popular etymology from sarsenet, a kind of silk. Variant: **Sarse-net.*

Tanbark mill. (3A4.343). sb. A mill for preparing tanbark.

22. MONEY.

†*Bit.* (JHP8.359). sb. A coin or piece of a coin of the value of twelve and a half cents. It is generally agreed that the Spanish real, which circulated in the United States until about the time of the Civil War and had some half-dozen different names in different sections, was called a bit

in the South and West. The earliest use of the word given in the New English Dictionary is of 1607, in thieves' jargon. Its use, always in connection with an amount named (as seven-shilling bit) is traceable through colonial times, and such was its use in Philadelphia and Georgia in connection with the real, which was known as eleven-penny bit and seven-penny bit respectively in those places. How bit lost its qualifying words expressing the amount and became fixed invariably at twelve and a half cents is not explained by the writers who discuss the word, nor why the term has persisted in the West to this day when it is obsolete in the East. An explanation may be found, however, in the fact that the word bit was applied to cut-money in the West. In Langworthy's "Sketches of the Early Settlement of the West," (JHP8.359) occurs this comment: "The only change aside from barter consisted of bits and picayunes—the former a piece of the eighth part of a Spanish milled dollar cut with a chisel into eight equal parts (when the operation was fairly and honestly done) but the skilful and designing often made nine bits and even ten out of a one-dollar piece." Rufus King in his *History of Ohio*, p. 301, calls bits "cut money or sharp-shins," which I take to corroborate Langworthy. It would be very natural indeed to call a small piece cut from a larger coin a "bit"—especially when the term was floating around in application to money anyway, and to assign to the bit the actual value supposed to be intrinsic. This makes a case of reinforced etymology, such as is frequently encountered in the development of words, in which a fresh and popular etymology increases the hold of the historical word. Bit is now used only in the plural, there being no coin of the value of twelve and a half cents and of course no cut-money. The forms are: two-bits, four-bits, six-bits. See Notes and Queries as follows: 10S8:62, 5S7:317, 10S7:36, 9S10:454, 9S10:491. Also the dialect dictionaries of DeVere, Clapin, Bartlett, Thornton, and Farmer, the New English and Century dictionaries, and Howell's *A Boy's Town*, p. 95.

Bogus money. (A1.350). sb. Counterfeit. "Bogus money was being coined."

Cash articles. (3A4.192). sb. "A few kinds of goods for which cash was demanded from 1836 to 1841."

Coonskins, I've got the. (JHP8.359). phr. I have the money; I can pay.

Mint-drop. (Sk.57). sb. A gold coin of any denomination. The coining of this word is commonly ascribed to Thomas H. Benton, who used it in a speech. Variant: *Benton's mint drops.* (IS., 4 Dec. 1840).

Picayune. (JHP8.359). sb. The name for a small Spanish coin, the half-real, current up to the Civil War; also a piece of the Spanish quarter or double-real, cut into four pieces (see reference). Used now only in the derived meaning of something despicable. From Fr. *picailon*, farthing.

Rolers. (A8.672). sb. Double eagles. 1852.

Shave. (ICR.30 July 1842). v. To discount. "To prevent the brokers from shaving me I went to a private individual and gave him all the Shaw-

neetown money I had—\$70 for \$20 in Ohio money. . . The d—st shaving story you ever did hear!”

Store-pay. (2A1.66). sb. Currency issued by stores and redeemable in goods. “The farmer sold his grain and took store-pay.” Variant: *Store-pay currency.* (2A1.66). “Store-pay currency did most of the business till 1850.”

Wild-cat. (3A1.332). sb. Currency issued by banking firms without proper reserve backing. Said to have been named from the figure of a wild-cat printed on the earliest notes, and to have given the name later to all irresponsible enterprises. This theory also may account for some of the variants: *Red-dog.* (3A1.332). Bartlett says these were named from the stamp of the issuing bank placed on the back in red ink. *Stumptail.* (3A1.332). *Brindle-pup.* (3A5.8). **Shin-plaster.* A word of earlier origin applied originally to paper money issued by the Continental Congress. *Florence.* (F.120) This word was derived from the name of the town—Florence, Nebr.—where this particular prominent wild-cat bank was located. “Cook & Sargent had out \$300,000 of Florence at one time.” “Omaha, Florence, DeSoto, Nebraska City, Bellevue, etc., in Nebraska, had their institutions issuing wild-cat.”—A10.141.

23. SOCIAL DIVERSIONS.

(Note: Play-party games, dance-calls, etc., are reserved for my fuller Iowa dialect list.)

†*Bee.* (S.156). sb. A social time, usually carrying the notion of some co-operative work. “Less of a bee and more of a job.” A good New England term, while the Southernism is usually “party.” Compare York state “quilting bee” and Virginia “quilting party.” Party usually lacks the connoted idea of working and is higher in the scale of refinement, though this may not always have been the case. Note *Sugarin-off party.* (BB.61). Varieties: *Quilting b.* (Ma.163). *Wood-chopping b.* (Ma.163). *Wood b.* (3A1.393). **Husking b.* *Bail-splitting b.* (3A6.453). *Corn-cutting b.* (3A6.453). **Hog-killing b.* *Butchering b.* (BB.147). The foregoing, except wood-bee, were also used without the word bee. “Quiltings, wood-choppings, etc., were popular amusements.”—Ma.163. Other variants: *Getherin.* (BB.113). *Shindig.* (BB.117).

Gal-napper. (BB.45). sb. “There were mosquitoes of immense size which we called gal-nappers. When a girl was persistently sought by the gal-nappers she was said to be old enough to accept the attentions of the opposite sex.” Variant: **Gallynappers.*

**Geography match.* sb. A contest in geography conducted like the spelling matches. Pronounced, of course, jogerfy.

Hanging bee. (3A7.376). sb. A lynching. The Southernism for it is *Lynching party.*

Horning. (A10.139). sb. A charivari.

**Hog-killin time.* A. sb. A hilarious time. “They had a regular hog-killin time.”

Rag-party. (Bo.380). sb. A bee at which rags for carpets were sewn together for weaving.

Raising. (Ma.160). A bee at which the logs or big timbers of a building were put in place. Varieties: *House-raising.* (Ma.160). **Barn-raising.* The latter is a later development, as were barns themselves.

Snap-and-ketch-em. (BB.113). sb. A kissing game in which the girl snaps her fingers at the boy, who starts a chase.

Shooting-match. (Hi.388). sb. A shooting contest. If the prize was a turkey, it might be called a *Turkey-shooting.* (Ma.163).

**Spelling match.* sb. A spelling contest. Variant: **Spelling bee.*

24. DRINKING WORDS.

Critter, The. (A1.46). sb. Whiskey or other strong liquor. The varied usage of this word shows it to belong to the cant of depreciation, as do many of the other names applied to whiskey by its friends. Variants: *Rot-gut.* (A8.120). Especially of cheap whiskey. *A panther.* (N. 79). "He kept a panther behind his door." **Bug-juice.* **Wild-cat whiskey.* *Forty-rod whiskey.* (A12.45). Named probably from the fact that if judiciously applied it would make a man jump forty rods. *Sod-corn whiskey.* (A1.694). Sod-corn, being a poorer variety of grain, was often used for distilling. *Red-eye.* (A8.710). *Rifle whiskey.* (A1.416). 1865. *Scutiappo* has been given already as an Indian name.

Doggery. (A8.341). sb. A grocery saloon.

Fill in a yard of liquor. (A8.710). v. phr. To take a long drink, or several.

Get a shot in the neck. (A1.596). v. phr. To take a drink. Compare more modern "half-shot."

Nip. (A7.394). sb. A drink. One might also take a *Snort.* (A1.415).

Pull. (3A5.28). *Suck.* (A12.45).

25. POLITICS.

Though terms referring to political parties are appropriate to a treatise on Americanisms, they are scarcely within the purview of a study of the speech of a single state. I give therefore merely a list of some terms noted in Iowa historical publications and newspapers for the pioneer period: Border Ruffians, Nigger Stealers, Black Abolitionists, Woolleys, Black Republicans, Nigger Worshipers, Amalgamationists, Miscegenationists, Freedom Shriekers, Liberty Shriekers, Copperheads, Secesh, Silver Greys, Seward Whigs, Free Soilers. Know-Nothings, Sam, Sammyism, Sag Nichts, Hunkers, Barnburners, Temperance Whigs, Whiskey Democrats, Whole-hog Democrats, Peace Democrats, Wide-Awakes, K.G.C., Knights of the Golden Circle, Sons of Liberty, Coonskinners. In ICR. Whiggery is used for the Whig party, *passim*. Also note:

Pipe-layers. (ICR., 25 Dec. 1841). "Illegal voters, or pipe-layers."

26. SOME TERMS FROM EARLY IOWA HISTORY.

Baneemyism. (2A3.17). sb. A vanished religious cult, the leading figure in which was a spook called Baneemy.

Bogus. (ICR., 30 July 1842). sb. "A gang of horsethieves in Linn County. . . known as the Bogus, or counterfeiting and horse-thief party."

Buy in the bush. (IHR.178). v. phr. To buy an escaped slave before he had been caught, usually at a very low price.

Dispute, The. (A1.579). sb. A name applied to the strip of territory between Iowa and Missouri which was at one time in dispute.

Frontier guards. (Hi.368). sb. Militia to protect against the Indians. Variant: *Home Guards.* (A8.704).

Hairy Nation. (A1.597). sb. "So the people residing on the Dispute termed themselves on account of their unshaven faces, wolf-skin caps, etc., and so Davis County people are still known." Doubtless identical in origin with the better-known phrase, "Wild and woolly."

Honey War. (Ma.199). sb. The conflict between Iowa and Missouri over a boundary question, so called because the strip in dispute was said to be chiefly valuable for the number of bee-trees on it. Variants: *Boundary War.* (IHR.250). *Missouri War.* (F.13). *Territorial War.* (A1.579).

Old Brown. (E. 121). sb. The usual name for John Brown in the communities where he was known.

Ramshorn. (A7.152). sb. The common name for a projected railroad which was to twist about in order to touch most of the principal towns.

U. G. (V.99). sb. The so-called Underground Railway.

Vigilance Committee. (Hi.336). sb. A self-appointed committee to punish lawlessness. Variant: *Regulators.* (Hi.342).

PREFERENCE OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS FOR OLD MONEY AND THE SERRATION OF ROMAN COINS

By B. L. ULLMAN
University of Iowa

In my review of Gudeman's edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus (*Classical Weekly*, XV, 35) I discussed briefly the meaning of the sentence in ch. 5: *Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque*: "the Germans favor old and long familiar money, (such as) the mill-edged and chariot types." I am led to a fuller discussion by an interesting letter from Mr. T. O. Mabbott of New York. Two points are involved. The first led to my original remark: the reason why the Germans preferred old, well known money. I suggested the rather obvious reason, which I have never seen stated, that the Germans learned to beware of new coins because the Roman traders sometimes worked off spurious coins on them. Mr. Mabbott accepts this and quotes a very interesting parallel: "The Austrians for over 100 years minted thalers with the head of Maria Theresa for use in Abyssinia, where the natives would have no other coins—and insisted that the number of 'pearls' in certain accessory details of the design be always the same. The money of the Emperor Menelik II was circulated with difficulty at first, I believe, because it was *new*." Mommsen (*Röm. Münzwesen*, 771-772) thinks that the Germans preferred the early coins because they could more easily be distinguished from the degraded Neronian currency than could the coins of the early Empire. This may be true but it clearly was not the view of Tacitus. Norden,¹ though citing the parallel of the Maria Theresa thalers, gives an explanation that does not explain. He says that the Germans preferred *bigati* and *serrati* because they were easily recognized. We may grant that this is true of the *serrati* but the *bigati* would be no more easily recognizable than any other type.

The other point involves the last two words in Tacitus' sen-

¹ *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania*, 1920, 280 ff.

tence. As the chariot coins and the mill-edged coins antedate 50 B. C., Gudeman thinks that they could not possibly have circulated to any extent in Tacitus' time, 150 or more years after the last one was struck, and that Tacitus therefore was using an early source. As shown below such coins are very rare in post-Neronian hoards found in Germany. It might also be added that if *bigati* were actually preferred by the Germans the only possible explanation would seem to be that the Romans began trading with the Germans when the *bigati* were the commonest types. I suggested that "perhaps Tacitus is using his own more vivid expression, *serratos bigatosque*," and I cited as an analogy the phrase *vinum consulare*, which is not to be taken literally. Mr. Mabbott is inclined to agree with Gudeman that Tacitus used an early source for this expression. I do not believe that one can settle this matter, but there are a few points of interest connected with it.

Bigati were popular for over a century from about 216 B. C.² *Serrati* were most common for about 30 years after 92 B. C., though a few isolated instances are found before that time. Most *bigati* were not serrated; nor do all serrated coins have chariots on them. It is clear then (as is indeed generally assumed) that Tacitus had in mind two different sets of coins, one set serrated and the other bigated.

Mr. Mabbott believes that "the purpose of serrate edges was to prevent counterfeiting—the indentations making a core of baser metal easily visible—and hence the Germans, who undoubtedly were victimized at times by the sharp traders who carried a few counterfeits for their benefit, preferred them." We shall take up the matter of serration below, but granting that its purpose was to prevent counterfeiting it does not follow that the Germans, if they actually did prefer this particular type of coin, preferred it because it prevented counterfeiting rather than because it was old and familiar to them. There is in fact a strong argument against such a view. Disregarding the fact that Tacitus

² Incidentally Gudeman has 126 through a misprint. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I, 66, says that the earliest *bigati* date from about 196 B. C. If this is true, Livy 23.15.15 (216 B. C.) is anachronistic. Babelon's view that the *bigati* date from about 217 B. C. strikes me as more reasonable (*Description . . . des Monnaies de la République Romaine*, I, xxi).

tus mentions these coins for their antiquity and not for their success in preventing counterfeiting, Mr. Mabbott's explanation does not account for the bigated coins. The whole phrase must be explained.

Mr. Mabbott thinks that *serratos bigatosque* could not have been Tacitus' own phrase for old coins, because coins even older than the *bigati* were still to be seen on rare occasions and because relatively few Roman coins were ever serrate. On the first point I may say that the older the coin type the less likely that Tacitus would be acquainted with it. Furthermore he is giving an example of "old" coins (*veterem*) and not "oldest" coins. On the second point it should be observed that the *only* Roman serrate coins antedated Tacitus' time by 150 years or more and that Tacitus would therefore inevitably associate such coins with the Republic. It may further be observed that Tacitus would naturally use the *bigati* as an example of the older Republican coinage because of his familiarity with Livy, who used the phrase *argentum bigatum* as a synonym for *argentum signatum*, coined silver.³

I realize of course that some may hold that the similarity between Tacitus and Livy shows that the lost books of Livy are the early source claimed for the entire sentence under discussion. But consideration of another sentence in the *Germania* will show how unnecessary this assumption is. To quote from my review of Gudeman:

In chapter 3 Tacitus says *quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est*. As is well known, this expression is found in Livy, praef. 6, *ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est*, and again in 5.21.9, *neque adfirmare neque refellere operae pretium est*. Gudeman grants that Tacitus borrowed from Livy but argues that it is psychologically improbable that Tacitus should have remembered this particular phrase from his earlier reading of 'Livius ingens.' His explanation is that Livy may have used the phrase again in his description of Germany and that Tacitus found it there. But I cannot see the psychological improbability which troubles

³ So too Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, III, 467. Livy's usage may be clearly made out by comparing 34.10.4, *argenti infecti* (uncoined silver) . . . *et signati bigatorum* with 34.10.7, *argenti* . . . *et bigatorum*; and 34.46.2, *argenti infecti* . . . , *bigati* . . . , *Oscensis, auri*, with 26.47.7, *argenti infecti signatique*. In the first passage *signati* is explained by *bigatorum*, in the second *bigatorum* alone is used, in the third *bigati* alone is used to contrast with *infecti*, just as *signati* is used in the fourth passage.

Gudeman. Most of us recall single striking phrases from books we read years ago. And besides is it not entirely likely that Tacitus often reread the famous preface of Livy?

In the same way it is quite as probable that Tacitus recalled the word *bigati* from his general reading of Livy as that he found the phrase we are discussing in that portion of Livy, now lost, which dealt with Germany.

A thorough examination of the hoards and single coins found north of the Alps might throw light on the matter. The facts thus far published are somewhat confusing and subject to varying interpretations. Norden asserts that *serrati* and *bigati* are common in hoards laid down before Nero but that they practically disappear in later hoards. From this he draws the conclusion that Tacitus must have used a pre-Neronian source, and that source must be Pliny. This is a possible but unnecessary assumption. He points out that in the *Natural History* Pliny mentions *bigati* and that he also uses the rare word *serratus*, though not of coins, which fact in itself makes the argument questionable. As we have seen, Livy mentions *bigati* even more frequently. But Norden's last argument in favor of Pliny as the source of Tacitus is really an argument against that source: he notes that Pliny uses *denarios probare*, which is similar to Tacitus' *pecuniam probant*, but he fails to note that the two authors use the verb in entirely different senses, for in Pliny it means "to test."

But let us return to the facts on which Norden bases his theory. We not only have no exact figures, as Norden admits, but no statement of any kind as to *bigati* in German hoards. For the *serrati* he refers to an article by K. Regling⁴ and to a private communication by the same scholar. In the latter is mentioned a hoard found in Liebeshausen, Czecho-Slovakia, consisting of 200 republican *denarii*, most of which are *serrati*, though no exact figures are given. It is to be noted that this is a very early hoard, consisting entirely of republican coins. There is no evidence to support Norden's conjecture that it was laid down as late as 18 A. D. Pending further evidence it is just as safe to assume a much earlier date, nearer the time when *serrati* were common in many parts of the ancient world.

⁴ He quotes from a separate pamphlet but I had previously discovered the article in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 29 (1912), 189 ff.

In Regling's article there is a summary of the larger finds in free Germany. His argument is inconsistent: on the one hand he states that the occurrence of *serrati* and *bigati* in the pre-Neronian hoards confirms Tacitus' remark, on the other he explains the large number of *denarii* coined by Antony and the scarcity of early imperial coins as due to the fact that the former, like the Neronian coins, were debased and consequently forced the better coins into the melting-pot. If the latter is true there should be few *serrati*, as in fact there are, relatively. Another explanation may enter in: the coins of Antony are after all early coins and may explain Tacitus' remark. In the case of the pre-Neronian hoards Regling gives the following figures for *serrati* and coins of Antony respectively: Feins 1, 7; Onna 8, 35; Barenau 7, 23; Franzburg 3, 3; Denecamp 8, 0; Niederlangen 41, 0, etc.⁵ He does not give figures for other republican coins, but they must be fairly large, especially in the case of Niederlangen. For the post-Neronian hoards Regling gives these figures: Middels Osterloog 1, 0; Fröndenberg 0, 6; Niemegek 9, 19 (and 22 other republican coins). It will be seen that where the coins of Antony occur at all they are far more numerous than the *serrati*.

Regling has included only the hoards in free Germany. For our purpose those in the Roman provinces of Germany are quite as pertinent. One described by Mommsen⁶ distinctly favors my view. It was found at Székely. It includes 16 republican *denarii* and 186 belonging to the time of the last triumvirate. The latter are early enough to justify the first part of Tacitus' statement, whereas the former are not numerous enough (even if all of them were either *serrati* or *bigati*) to account for the last part of Tacitus' sentence.

It may also be pointed out that in all the post-Neronian hoards listed by Regling, coins dating from 81-96, the period just before Tacitus wrote the *Germania*, are relatively very scarce.

The matter of serration is a perplexing one and needs investigation. The latest authorities agree that the purpose of serration was not to prevent counterfeiting, for bronze coins and even plated *denarii* were serrate.⁷

⁵ This is probably a very early hoard.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Grueber, *op. cit.*, I, 159; G. F. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, 1909,

Rome is said to have been anticipated in the practice by Carthage, Syria, and Macedonia in the third century B. C. But Mr. Mabbott points out a difference, hitherto unmentioned, in the serration of Roman and Syrian coins. An examination of two specimens of each, kindly sent me by Mr. Mabbott, shows quite clearly that he is right. The Syrian coins are not really serrate: they have small projecting knobs. The Roman serration consists of approximately triangular cuts. In the former, the projecting parts are the noticeable things, in the latter, the indentations. Furthermore, all the Syrian serrate coins are of bronze, the Roman coins of silver. The Carthaginian serrate coins are said to be of silver, gold, and electrum, the Macedonian coins of bronze. Inferring from this fact that the Carthaginian serration was like the Roman, and the Macedonian like the Syrian, I found reproductions which confirmed the inference. George Macdonald, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Vol. III, 1905, Plate XCIII. 23 (p. 591, Nos. 60-63) has a good example of a Carthaginian coin with serration exactly like the Roman, which latter may be seen in Grueber, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Plates XXIII. 6, XXX. 10-14, XXXI. 2-7, 9-10, XL. 9 ff., and especially XLI, etc. A Macedonian serrate coin is shown in H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia u. Paionia*, Plate I. 28. It is like the Syrian coins pictured in Babelon, *Catalogue des Monnaies Grecques . . . Les Rois de Syrie*, Plates XI. 16-18, XVI. 5, 7, 8, XVII. 15, 16, 18-20, etc., and Macdonald, Plate LXVI. 6, etc. The coins show the differences more clearly than the pictures.

The methods used in producing the two kinds of serration can be determined only by study of a large number of coins. Authorities differ. It seems to me that the Syrian serration was probably done when the blanks were cast. I am somewhat inclined to think that the Roman serration was done by a file, as Bahrfeldt thought (quoted by Grueber, *op. cit.*, I. 160, q. v. for other explanations), but I base my opinion on *a priori* grounds, and the examination of Mr. Mabbott's two coins seems to disprove the opinion.

The purpose of serration is evidently quite different for the Syrian bronze coins and the Roman silver coins. In the case of

p. 85. The latter says: "No explanation of the practice presenting the slightest degree of probability has yet been offered." Similarly G. Macdonald, *The Evolution of Coinage*, 1916, p. 69.

the former, the purpose was probably ornamental. In the latter, I agree with Mr. Mabbott that the probable purpose was the prevention of counterfeiting. As the bronze coins are quite different in nature, they can no longer stand in the way of this explanation. That some plated *denarii* are found serrate merely shows, to quote Mr. Mabbott, "that a way round a difficulty was found: the 'hairs' are put in modern paper money to make it hard for counterfeiters, but counterfeit hairs do occur in 'good work' by criminals." As to the plated *denarii* issued by the government, they are themselves really a sort of official counterfeit. It seems plausible that the first issues of plated *denarii* were not liked by some people, especially foreigners, and that serration was introduced to prove that not all *denarii* were plated. Afterwards the government, desiring to issue plated *denarii*, found a process of plating serrated coins of base material.

The Syrian serration is then an entirely different thing from the Roman, and there can be no question of the Romans borrowing from the Syrians or vice versa, as asserted by some authorities. It is probable that the Macedonians imitated the Syrians rather than vice versa, but it is not easy to say whether the Romans imitated the Carthaginians, as usually stated, or whether the reverse was the case, as Babelon suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. CLXXXVIII ff.). The practice must have grown out of the custom of individuals who tested the genuineness of coins by biting or filing them. There is in fact some evidence of this custom, to judge from photographic reproductions, but only the study of a large collection of actual coins could prove its existence.⁸ The government standardized the practice, so to speak, by filing or stamping the coins all the way round. In the case of Roman coins some types are found with both plain and serrate edges. The latter may have been used in localities where there had been much trouble with counterfeiting. A study of the places where serrate and counterfeit coins have been found in considerable quantities may throw light on this point. The government was chary of going to the expense of serrating all coins of a certain issue, especially since the appearance of the coins was not enhanced by the uneven indentations.

⁸ Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 387, note 67) refers to a discussion of this matter by Cavedoni, but the work is inaccessible to me.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die englische Literatur der neuesten Zeit von Dickens bis Shaw, by Leon Kellner, 402 pp. Bernard Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1921.

Interpretations of the Victorian era have appeared frequently of late. One thinks of Mr. Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*; of numerous "Memories," Mrs. Humphrey Ward's for example; and of three books bearing strictly on literature: Mr. Chesterton's *Victorian Age in Literature*, Mr. Thorndyke's *Literature in a Changing Age*, and this one of Dr. Kellner's under review, the second edition, with 'important changes,' of his *Englischen Literatur im Zeitalter der Koenigen Victoria* (1909).

These three books differ in method. Mr. Thorndyke's is a series of chapters on typical subjects; Mr. Chesterton's groups all his material around a discussion of the Victorian compromise; while Dr. Kellner's, perhaps more conventional than the others, arranges the chapters on the basis of the established recognition of the authors, grouping about each leader a number of minor writers. At the beginning of the discussion of each author, a complete list of his works and a bibliography are given in footnotes. The discussion of every writer, whether major or minor, differs but slightly in kind, in length very much, all the way from twenty-six pages for Carlyle (Carlyle and a few others are not surrounded by groups) to a page for John Davidson and three or four lines for many others. One is glad to see George Gissing, leader in what Dr. Kellner calls the "Bohemian" novel, heading a chapter and surrounded by du Maurier, Leonard Merrick, and others.

The grouping is neither chronological nor a series of "begats," but is based on some other likeness; for example, Rhoda Broughton and "W. K." Clifford go with the Brontë sisters; and Clough, Fitzgerald, "Owen Meredith," James Thompson, W. S. Blount, and Edmund Gosse go with Arnold. One general difficulty of all such grouping is that a writer is really connected with so many others that a linking with one may give a wrong impression. For example, Davidson, here linked with Rossetti, drew the inspiration for nearly all his later work from Huxley; and Mr. Chesterton may have some objections to being classed with Oscar Wilde. And since space is an indication of importance, it may be doubted whether Mr. Phillpotts, who has done for Devon what Hardy has done for Wessex, is worth only three or four lines or whether Shaw and Pinero as dramatists stand in importance to each other in the relation of eight to one.

Life, personality, poetical and literary art, influence — these for the most part are the headings under which, chapter by chapter, through the whole twenty-six, the leading writers are discussed. And altogether one reads them through with interest, pleasure, and profit. One might mention in

particular the chapters on Tennyson and Carlyle, and the very excellent introduction, summarizing the character of the period, not only in literature but in politics, economics, and sociology. Dr. Kellner draws at will from a rich background of wide reading; with each writer the salient facts of biography are given accurately and concisely, and the critical discussions and interpretations are on the whole sane and individual. One differs from these in many places; that is to be expected. Dr. Kellner thinks that Tennyson's verse is too objective to be called lyrical—too little of Tennyson's own personality in it. Like Mr. Chesterton, he believes that *In Memoriam*, as a lament for Hallam, becomes attenuated into musical verse devoid of true feeling; he also hints that Carlyle for English readers hindered rather than helped a true appreciation of Goethe. I do not altogether agree with these judgments, but I give them as an indication of the suggestiveness of the whole book. And lest what follows may give another impression, it is here stated that in my opinion this book is the most comprehensive and scholarly presentation of Victorian literature that has yet appeared. One is moved to admiration at the completeness of it; and, in this regard, by way of contrast, it should be said that Dr. Kellner's history contains one hundred and sixty writers, while Mr. Chesterton's has but sixty.

Dr. Kellner, while devoting much space to the biography, works, literary merit, etc., of the different writers, knows well that for this extraordinarily disturbed period any history of its literature must show how literature and background act and react on each other. Such a relation indeed is the thesis of this work. From a near view, he tells us, "literature in the time of Victoria is but a confusion of voices without originality or unity; but from a more distant view it is the mirror of a society whose spirit, torn from old moorings, is anxiously seeking to find a place of rest."

One wonders if this thesis has been quite as well substantiated for the period after 1860 as before it, or to use names, as well with Stevenson as with Carlyle and Ruskin. Rightly or wrongly, it was accepted about 1870 that with Darwin the voice of science had silenced those two great voices: there was no mercy in the "survival of the fittest;" there was no soul of which this earth was but a garment; there was no liberty in the fixed and unalterable system of Huxley. A "cloud did really fall on the minds of men," so that it seemed two courses only were open for them: to drown in water like the two in Tennyson's *Despair* or in wine like the oriental in *Omar Khayyam*—these on the one hand; or on the other, to throw over Victorian prudery and have one's fling.

Much of the departure from reticence since in literature dates from Swinburne's *Ballads*, published about this time; but the clearest and most immediately influential voice against both the despair and the perversity was that of Stevenson, with his emphasis on action as the main element of culture. Dr. Kellner has not quite done justice to Stevenson or to his own thesis through Stevenson. It is true that Stevenson supplanted Trollope in popularity; that he marks a return to nature, though that is more

true of his much greater but less popular contemporary, Meredith; but he also came into his particular period with prevailing freshness and hope, not with any superficial view of the nature of human conduct, but in the teeth of what he called with insight and felicity the "lost fight of virtue." And for this reason, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* links itself to the period in a way Dr. Kellner has not spoken of: it is really the answer in literature to Swinburne's request, full of puerile bravado but carrying at the time a strange influence, to be "released from virtue;" Mr. Hyde is Swinburne had Dolores answered the prayer. And the hundreds of thousands who read this story or watched it on the stage knew that Mr. Hyde's way did not lead to the spirit's resting place.

Dr. Kellner thinks that Meredith's emphasis on comedy is overdone. The criticism is not well taken; nations as well as individuals too easily let the comic lamp go untrimmed, with what tragic results the world has recently known. Here and there in this book, too, are signs of a slight lack of comic perception. The early extravagant statement that every man in England from the king to the humblest miner in Cornwall thought at the fall of the Bastille that the bottom had gone out of the world squints toward comedy; so also does this as proof of Tennyson's narrowness nationally: his saying that he did not like Venice because there was no English tobacco there!

English and American readers of this book will hear with some surprise that Kipling had an early period of pessimism. So strong is it, we are told, that it can be compared to Swift's in that last bitter chapter on the Houyhnhnms.

If the surprise at such a point of view will send the reader again to the *Jungle Books* and to those amazingly precocious stories in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, he will thank Dr. Kellner, though he may hardly agree with the view itself. That Mowgli means despair, on his creator's part, of the ability of human beings to rear their children as wisely as animals could rear them seems far-fetched. And though in these earlier stories Kipling does point out mistakes in his countrymen's administration of India, there is also in them a veiled but strong pride in his own people, quite compatible with the later *Recessional* and *Song of the English*. And as for the women in Anglo-Indian society, one need only let Kipling, even in that early period, speak for himself: "One could admire and respect Mrs. Hawkshee, despise and avoid Mrs. Riever, but one was forced to adore the Venus Annodomini." And that is not pessimism.

University of Iowa

M. A. SHAW.

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